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FEAT OF HORATIUS COCLES.



REPUBLIC

OF

ROME

LOSSING-BARRITT



RICORD'S SERIES OF ROMAN HISTORY.

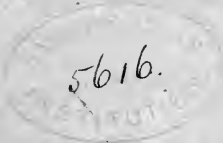
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REPUBLIC OF ROME.

BY

F. W. RICORD.

With Illustrations.



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R. C. VALENTINE,
STEREOTYPER AND ELECTROTYPIST,
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THE absorbing narratives which make up the history of the Republic of Rome, are rendered none the less instructive to the general reader, and certainly none the less essential to the student, by reason of the abundant acuteness evinced by Beaufort and Niebuhr in disproving the testimonies of Livy and Dionysius. Indeed, a very good knowledge of the narratives here collected is necessary, in order that either pleasure or profit may be derived from the writings of these modern historians. While much of this period of Roman history is undoubtedly fabulous, real characters begin to make their appearance, and the early struggles between Liberty and Despotism evince an origin antecedent to the fascinating writers of antiquity who have recorded them. They are always read and studied with the liveliest interest, and so, too, are those exhibitions of the love of authority, and thirst of military glory, which, taking the place of the stern Roman virtue, drained the plains of Italy of its noble inhabitants, and sent them to die in distant lands, while their ambitious leaders, making conquest after conquest, subdued Spain, Carthage, Greece, Egypt, Asia, and, at length, under Julius Cæsar, Rome itself.

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp, biting cold that seemed to seep into my bones. I shivered as I walked towards the entrance of the building, my hands tucked into my pockets. The air was thick with the scent of old books and the faint, distant hum of the city.

The building itself was a grand, imposing structure with a facade of dark stone. Large, arched windows with intricate leaded glass designs allowed a warm, golden light to spill out from within. The entrance was a wide, vaulted archway, flanked by tall, slender columns. A small, ornate fountain with water spraying upwards stood in the center of the courtyard in front of the building.

As I approached the entrance, I noticed a group of people standing near the fountain. They were dressed in formal attire, and their conversation was hushed. I hesitated for a moment, unsure if I should join them or simply pass by. Then, a man in a dark suit and a top hat stepped forward. He had a friendly smile and a warm handshake.

"Welcome, welcome," he said, his voice deep and resonant. "I'm Mr. Thompson. You must be the new member. Please, follow me. We have a lot to discuss." He gestured towards the entrance, and I followed him. The interior of the building was vast and open, with high ceilings and a floor of polished wood. The walls were covered in bookshelves, filled with books of various sizes and colors.

Mr. Thompson led me to a large, round table in the center of the room. Several other people were seated around the table, and they all looked up at me with interest. Mr. Thompson began to speak, his voice clear and confident. He explained the history of the organization and the importance of the work we were doing. He then turned to me and asked for my name and a brief background.

I introduced myself and gave him a short summary of my life. He listened intently, nodding his head as I spoke. When I finished, he smiled and said, "That's very interesting. You have a lot of experience in this field. We would be very happy to have you on our team." He then stood up and gestured towards the entrance.

"Come, let me show you the rest of the building. There are many more things you should see." He led me out of the main hall and into a series of smaller rooms. Each room was filled with books, and the shelves were packed closely together. Mr. Thompson pointed out various sections, explaining the different types of books and the way they were organized.

As we walked, I noticed that the people in the other rooms were also looking at me. Some were nodding, while others were shaking their heads. I felt a bit self-conscious, but Mr. Thompson seemed to be in control of the situation. He continued to lead me through the building, showing me the library, the study, and the office.

Finally, we reached a large, open space that served as a common area. It was filled with people, some sitting at tables and others standing. Mr. Thompson introduced me to a few of the more important members of the organization. They all seemed to be very interested in me, and I felt a sense of belonging.

The day ended with a large dinner in the main hall. The food was excellent, and the atmosphere was warm and friendly. Mr. Thompson stood up and gave a toast to the new member. He said, "Welcome to the family. We are glad to have you with us. We will be working together for many years to come."

I smiled and raised my glass. "Thank you very much. I am honored to be here, and I look forward to working with all of you." The room erupted in applause, and I felt a sense of accomplishment. I had found a new home, a new community, and a new purpose.

Arrangement.

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THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF HENRY THE FIRST

BY JOHN GILBERT FROTHINGHAM

IN TWO VOLUMES

LONDON: PUBLISHED BY J. B. LEECH, 15, N. MARK LANE.

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CHAPTER 13

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THE WAR WITH PORSENNA.

FROM 507 TO 503 B. C.

THINGS related in the Stories of "The Kings of Rome"
—The consul Publius Valerius—Unjust Suspicions raised
against him—His Refutation of them—Anecdote of Hora-
tius Pulvillus—King Tarquinius appeals to Porsenna, king
of Clusium—Porsenna prepares to make War upon Rome—
He attacks Rome—Horatius Cocles—His Defence of the
Bridge across the Tiber—The Honor paid to him—Porsenna
besieges Rome—The Story of Caius Mucius—The Story of
Clœlia.

I.

THE WAR WITH PORSENNA.

THE Roman Republic may be said to have commenced upon the day when Brutus and Collatinus were elected consuls. Tarquinius Superbus was at this time king of Rome; and at the very moment when the revolution took place, he and his immense army were encamped before the walls of Ardea, endeavoring to bring that strong city in subjection to Rome. To be completely stripped of his power at home, and to be shamefully and helplessly driven from the midst of his troops, was an event of which neither he nor his subjects had dreamed two days before its occurrence. Still it is not a matter which should occasion surprise, for Tarquinius was a detested tyrant, whom the people, under a resolute leader, were at any moment ready to crush.

This leader was Brutus; and the Roman

Things related in the Stories of the Kings of Rome.

people vested him and his colleague, Collatinus, with the government of the city. The army was withdrawn from the walls of Ardea. Joy took the place of the murmuring and discontent which had prevailed throughout the city. The excellent laws which had been established by King Servius, and abolished by Tarquinius, were now restored. The people again exercised the rights of freemen; and peace and prosperity seemed to be the destiny of Rome.

But Tarquinius was still alive. The city of Cumæ had opened its gates to receive him; and here, mortified and enraged, he spent his time in devising means for the recovery of his throne. First he resorted to stratagem; but he accomplished nothing except the sacrifice of the sons of Brutus and the destruction of all the friends whom he still possessed in Rome. Then he appealed to the Veientians and Tarquinians to aid him in his design. Here again he failed, himself and allies being driven in terror from the battle-field, while the Roman army, laden with spoils, went home in triumph.

Not long before this last-mentioned event, Collatinus, the colleague of Brutus, had been obliged to resign the consulship and leave Rome, simply because he bore the hated name

The consul Publius Valerius.

of Lucius Tarquinius. Publius Valerius was appointed in his stead. Now Brutus was gone too, having been the first to shed his blood in the cause of the Republic. All these things have been related in the stories of THE KINGS OF ROME.

The loss of Brutus was a grievous thing for the Roman people. He had done more than any other man for the accomplishment of their freedom. He was, in fact, regarded as their deliverer. He had caused his own sons to be slain because they had conspired against the State, and in him therefore they could place the utmost confidence. His death filled them with apprehensions; and they straightway imagined themselves surrounded with snares, and destined to become the prey to a tyranny more fearful than that from which they had just escaped. Even the consul Publius became an object of jealousy and suspicion, because he did not immediately cause the vacancy occasioned by the death of Brutus to be filled. It was noised about that he wished to rule alone, in order that he might more easily make himself king of Rome. "Why does he choose Mount Velia for his residence?" asked one. "He has grown proud and wishes to place himself above the common people," was the

The consul Publius Valerius.

reply of some. "He desires to be king, and means to build an impregnable fortress," said others.

Though these remarks and suspicions were not accompanied by threats, or violent demonstrations, yet they had great effect upon the consul Publius. He heard them indeed with indignation, for it was far from his intention to usurp authority greater than he already possessed. Still he resolved to dispel the fears entertained concerning him, and therefore issued a proclamation for the people to meet him in a public assembly. When they were all convened, he went into their midst, and ordering the fasces to be lowered, mounted the tribunal to speak to them. This proceeding was highly grateful to the people, for by lowering the fasces he acknowledged their sovereignty. "Romans," said he, "how excellent was the fortune of my colleague, who, after having accomplished the deliverance of his country, and after having been raised to the highest post of honor, fell dying in defence of the republic! When his glory was in its perfection he departed; before the glance of suspicion had been directed towards him, before the tongue of jealousy had wounded him. But I, surviving the glory which I have won, have

at last become the object of calumny, and, from the character of deliverer of my country, I am sunk to the level of those who would have betrayed it. Will no degree of merit, then, ever gain your confidence, so far as to be secure from the attacks of suspicion? Could I have the least apprehension that I, the bitterest enemy to kings, should undergo the charge of aiming at kingly power? Supposing that I dwelt in the very citadel, and in the capitol, could I believe that I was an object of terror to my countrymen? Does my reputation among you depend on so mere a trifle? Is my title to your confidence so slightly founded that it is more to be considered where I am, than what I am? Citizens, the house of Publius Valerius shall be no obstruction to your freedom: the Velian Mount shall be secure to you. I will not only bring down my house to the plain, but will fix it under the hill, that your dwellings may overlook that of your suspected countryman. Let those build on the Velian Mount to whom you can better intrust your liberty than to Publius Valerius."

These few words were sufficient to convince the people that their suspicions were unfounded. They served also to remind them that Valerius was the coadjutor of Brutus and Collati-

The consul Publius Valerius.

nus in expelling the tyrant who had so long oppressed them. Shame therefore took possession of them, and they separated for their respective homes, leaving Valerius to enjoy the satisfaction of having triumphed over their suspicions.

Faithful to his promise, he immediately caused the workmen who were engaged upon his palace to remove the stones and timbers from the top of the mount to the vale below. Here he erected a modest mansion, and laying aside every thing which was calculated to excite envy or jealousy, applied himself to the administration of his office. The excellent laws which he proposed, and his manifest devotion to the cause of the people, soon secured the confidence of his fellow-citizens; and he even became so popular that the surname of *Publicola* was bestowed upon him.

In a short time *Spurius Lucretius* was elected consul in the place of *Brutus*; but being far advanced in years, he died in a few days after his election. *Marcus Horatius Pulvillus* was placed in his stead. Of him nothing remarkable is related, except that on one occasion he showed a good deal of self-possession. It seems that the temple of *Jupiter*, though some time completed, had never been dedicated. The

honor of performing the ceremonies on such an occasion being very considerable, the two consuls, Publius and Horatius, cast lots for the office. The lot fell to Horatius. This gave great displeasure to the friends of Publius, who endeavored in every way to delay and prevent the ceremonies. Their efforts were however useless. The day was appointed, and all the preparations for the occasion properly made. A great multitude assembled around the temple, and Horatius began by performing the sacrifices and other preliminaries. Having finished these, he laid hold of the door-posts, while all present placed themselves in a most reverential posture to listen to his pronunciation of the solemn prayer of consecration. Just as he had raised his eyes and was about calling upon the name of Jupiter, the brother of Publius, who had watched the opportunity, rushed suddenly before him, and exclaimed in an excited manner: "Horatius, your son has just died." Horatius, lowering his eyes and looking for a moment at the messenger, calmly replied, "Let him then be buried." He then proceeded with his prayer, completed the dedication, and caused his name to be placed upon the front of the temple.

For a brief period, the affairs of the Roman

King Tarquinius appeals to Lars Porsenna.

Republic seemed prosperous enough. Abroad their arms had been triumphant under the direction of the consuls; at home the resolution of the people to maintain republican principles had intimidated the ambitious, and forced the proud Patricians to show a degree of kindness and justice which they had never before exhibited. The Senate carried their generosity so far as to tax themselves much more than the other citizens, and even took pains to furnish provisions to the poorer classes at a much lower price than they had been accustomed to pay. But in all this they were actuated by fears for their own safety; for enemies to the Republic were now springing up on every hand, and it behooved those who had every thing at stake to exercise prudence, and even to make some sacrifices. King Tarquinius, though constantly baffled in his undertakings, was still determined to recover, if possible, his throne: In connection with the defeated Veientians and Tarquinians, he made a strong appeal to Lars Porsenna, the powerful king of Clusium. He laid before him his own wrongs; spoke of the indignities which, through him, had been offered to kings, and urged Porsenna to revenge the common cause of royalty.

Porsenna prepares to make War upon Rome.

Porsenna, willing to add to the glory which he had already acquired, readily took up the quarrel of Tarquinius, and forthwith made the most active preparations to march a powerful army against Rome. He knew full well that it was no ordinary war in which he would have to engage. The numerous and brilliant victories achieved by Roman arms were well known to him; and he did not forget, moreover, that in defence of their liberty, they would exhibit a degree of valor which a contest for dominion or spoils would not call forth.

The preparations of Porsenna were therefore made with the utmost care. His own city of Clusium furnished an army sufficient to cope with an ordinary foe; but he was not satisfied with this. Messengers were dispatched to all the cities of Etruria, with invitations to join him in crushing the common enemy of Italy. The Latin cities, too, were urged to furnish all the aid which they could send, and, from all directions, troops flocked daily around his standard.

Intelligence of these vigorous proceedings was not long in reaching Rome. The Senate received it with terror; and the people, despairing of being able to resist such a host of enemies, were almost ready to yield the city

without a blow. The news was carried, too, to the seaport of Ostia and spread among the shepherds and husbandmen all around the city, and so great was the fear that took possession of those who heard it, that a general flight took place among them. The walls of Rome seemed to afford the only safeguard against their innumerable foes. Thither they fled in multitudes: the aged and the young. Thither they drove their flocks of sheep and goats, their horses and mules and cattle; and thither, from every farm-house and hamlet, went long trains of wagons loaded with grain and wine and household goods, so that every gate of Rome was fairly choked with those who sought refuge from the invading foe.

Nor were the apprehensions of these fugitives without foundation; for scarcely had they found security within the walls, than, looking behind them, they beheld the smoke and flames of their abandoned dwellings, and knew, by the clouds of dust that filled the sky, that their foes were pushing forward, resolved upon the total destruction of their State.

Onward they came, trampling down and covering every field and vineyard within sight of Rome, and speedily reaching the high wall that surrounded the Janiculum, boldly and vig-

orously plied their batteries against its ponderous stonework.

It was a dreadful moment for the Roman people; and the Senate, sick at heart, and certain that their power was at an end, knew not what to do. They met; but it seemed rather for the purpose of bearing each other company in the destruction which they hourly awaited. No one had any plan of defence to propose; and all defence indeed seemed useless, for the walls were already tottering beneath the blows of hostile engines; and the shouts of triumph, wafted over the heights of the Janiculum and across the intervening Tiber, penetrated into the very heart of the citadel.

“Senators,” shouted the consul Valerius, as he rushed into the midst of the terrified assembly; “why stand ye here idle and craven-hearted? Already the walls of the Janiculum are falling before the batteries of Porsenna! Once upon its heights, they have only to cross the Sublician bridge and Rome will be forever lost! Hasten, Senators! Let us meet them at the River-gate, and be the first to block its passage by our mangled bodies!”

Forth went Valerius, and forth, too, went the Roman Senate with all speed towards the bridge which, crossing the Tiber, united the

Horatius Cocles.

Janiculum to the more densely inhabited portions of the city. Here they arrived just as the enemy began, one by one, to leap through the breaches made in the wall on the opposite side of the river. "The bridge must be broken down," shouted Valerius; "there is no other hope for Rome! Bring axes, my brave Horatius," he continued, addressing the captain of the gate,—“bring axes; hew down the bridge.”

"Thou art right, Valerius," replied Horatius Cocles; "the bridge must be hewn down, but let this be thy task, while I, with two others, cross to the further side and defend the passage till your work is done. Who dare follow me?" shouted Cocles. "If none, then I will meet alone the hosts of Porsenna." Saying which he sprang, sword in hand, upon the bridge, and ran towards the other end, which the enemy were now approaching. Behind ran also two brave Romans who had been inspired by his words; and no sooner had the three reached the middle of the bridge than the consuls, the senators, and the people all began with axes and bars to tear it down.

"Vile slaves," shouted Cocles to the foremost of the approaching host, "why do you not seek to secure your own liberty rather than to wrest it from those who have had the courage

Cocles' Defence of the Bridge across the Tiber.

to win it? By the eternal gods, ye shall not pass this bridge until I have covered it with dead bodies!"

At these words a loud peal of laughter rose from the troops, who, now, leaping by thousands through the broken walls, came dashing towards the river. The next moment a cloud of arrows showered down upon Cocles and his brave companions; but they fell harmless upon the bucklers and heavy armor which they wore. Then the stoutest and bravest warriors from the ranks of the enemy, eager for glory and confident of success, ran with spears and axes to win the narrow pass; but Cocles and his companions stood like rocks before them, and, one by one, the greatest champions of Veii, of Tarquinii, and of Clusium, fell lifeless at their feet.

In the mean time, the Romans on the other side of the river, working vigorously with their axes, cut away, one after another, the timbers which supported the bridge. The last prop was all that now remained; Valerius, seeing that the structure would soon fall, called out, "Come back, Horatius Cocles; come back, brave Romans; the bridge is yet strong enough to hold you; come back, before it is too late." The companions of Cocles at once obeyed the

Cocles' Defence of the Bridge across the Tiber.

summons, but that fierce Roman, being engaged in a desperate conflict with a stalworth Veientian, paid no attention to the call. Again Valerius shouted to him, but the words had hardly escaped his lips, when the bridge fell, with a mighty crash, into the waters of the yellow Tiber.

A scream of rage now burst forth from the disappointed hosts of Porsenna, and a thousand arrows were directed against the body of the brave Cocles. Protecting himself by his broad buckler, and succeeding, too, in cleaving to the earth the enemy with whom he was engaged, he sprang into the Tiber. "Holy father Tiberius, I beseech thee to receive these arms, and this thy soldier, into thy propitious stream," said the courageous man, as he leaped from the banks of the river.

Down went Cocles loaded with his heavy armor, and the deep waters closed above him. His friends on the one side and his foes on the other, all gazed in solemn silence at the spot in which he sank. His valor and his intrepidity had excited the admiration of his enemies as well as of his friends, and sorrow for the possible loss of so brave a man seemed to pervade every breast. While they were still gazing upon the ruffled stream, a black helmet rose above the

surface, and presently the iron hands of Cocles were seen battling against the rapid tide. A shout of joy now burst from the Roman ranks, and even Porsenna himself, unable to conceal his admiration, cried out, "May the gods protect yon valiant man and bear him safe to shore!"

Bravely did the weary and wounded Cocles struggle against the stream; and gallantly, too, did he force a passage through its swift current, despite the iron greaves and cumbrous mail in which his body was encased. A hundred Romans dashed into the water to give him aid, but the vigorous stroke of his arm, and the flood lifted by his broad shoulders forbade approach; so onward he went alone, even to the water's edge.

As he walked, dripping, up the river bank, the consuls, the senators, and the people gathered around him, and fairly carried him in their arms with shouts of joy. It was a glorious day for Cocles. They crowned him with the crowns of victory; they gave him the choicest lands without the walls; they made him choose the sightliest residence in Rome; during the siege which followed, they brought him corn and wine, and daily loaded his table and his storehouse with every thing that the

Porsenna besieges Rome.

market produced; and besides all this, they commemorated his bold achievement by a brazen statue which they erected in the Comitium.

Notwithstanding the admiration which Porsenna felt for his foes, he was still determined to accomplish their destruction. Failing in his meditated attack upon the city, he resolved to besiege it, and force the inhabitants to yield, if possible, by destroying the fields and hamlets which lay around it, and by plundering and slaying all who unfortunately fell in his way. The Romans did not quietly submit to all this. Whenever an opportunity occurred, they sent bands of soldiers privately from the city, who would frequently cut off hundreds of their enemies, with very little injury to themselves. Stratagems of every kind were resorted to by them, and Porsenna, finding upon one occasion that he had lost more than five thousand of his best troops, resolved to surround the city with his vast army, and, by cutting off all supplies of provisions, finally starve the people into subjection.

It was not long before the citizens began to suffer extremely from this blockade. They had, fortunately, an unusual quantity of food, but every day it was diminishing with great rapidity, and starvation or slavery seemed in-

evitable. In this strait, Rome presented another evidence of the boldness and patriotism of her citizens.

Three hundred young men of illustrious birth, determining that they would rather die than see Rome subjected to a foreign yoke, bound themselves by the most solemn oaths that they would free themselves from Porsenna or suffer death in the attempt. In accordance with a preconcerted plan, one of them, named Caius Mucius, appeared one day before the Senate and demanded permission to leave the city, saying at the same time that he meditated something of great importance to the commonwealth, and that he was willing to risk his life in the undertaking. Permission was granted, and he found the means of leaving the city unobserved by the enemy.

Being well acquainted with their language, he had no difficulty in mingling with the soldiers and passing himself off as one of their number. Wandering about the camp, he finally discovered the king's tent; and observing that many persons were passing in and out, he ventured to intrude upon the royal presence. Looking about for the king, his attention was arrested by two persons of very dignified appearance, and both arrayed in robes of equal

splendor. One of them sat motionless and apparently deep in meditation; the other, with large heaps of gold before him, was constantly occupied in giving and receiving messages, and in bestowing portions of his gold upon one and another who went in and out before him.

“This busy individual is certainly the king,” thought Mucius. He dared not, however, ask, lest his ignorance should betray him. Firm in his resolution, he therefore stole slowly and carelessly towards him, and having arrived within a distance suitable for his purpose, drew forth a knife which he had concealed within his dress, and plunged it into the heart of his victim.

A cry of horror rose on all sides, and Mucius, notwithstanding his desperate efforts to escape, was speedily arrested. He had killed the king’s secretary instead of the king, and those who held him, dragged him at once before the monarch to receive the sentence due to his crime. Trembling with rage, Porsenna demanded his reason for such monstrous conduct. Without the least manifestation of fear, he replied in a firm voice: “I am a Roman. My name is Caius Mucius. I came here with a determination to kill the enemy of my country. Fortune, Porsenna, hath permitted thee

to escape my sword ; but I shall die contented, for the moment will most certainly arrive when a more lucky arm than mine will reach thee. Prepare thyself, O king ! for henceforth a knife is ever pointed at thy heart. Rome does not seek the blood of thy soldiers, but thine alone, Porsenna !”

Horried at such a dreadful announcement, the king at once called his guards about him, and ordering a fire to be kindled, commanded Mucius to reveal the plot in which he was engaged, under penalty of being burned to death. But Mucius advanced to the burning pile, and holding his right arm in the flame, exclaimed, “See how he despises the body, who has immortal glory in view !” Without drawing back his arm, or even moving a muscle, he suffered his hand to become fairly roasted in the fire.

Porsenna, regarding for a few moments this extraordinary display of fortitude, sprang from the midst of his guards, seized Mucius and thrust him away from the fire. “Go home, young man,” he exclaimed ; “I cannot destroy such bravery, even though it be used against myself. Take the liberty which I give you, and depart.”

Mucius, appearing to be moved more by the generosity of Porsenna than by the flames kin-

Departure of Mucius.

dled for his destruction, thus addressed the monarch: I desire, O king! to show you that kindness is more powerful with the brave than threats; and since you are disposed to honor courage, be it known to you, that three hundred of the principal youths of Rome have bound themselves by an oath to attack you, as I have done; my lot happened to be first; the others will be with you, each in his turn, according as the lot shall set him foremost, until fortune shall afford an opportunity of succeeding against you."

Having uttered these words, he departed, leaving Porsenna most deeply affected by the danger to which he now saw himself daily exposed. One of the three hundred assassins had already been within his tent; the knives of the others were doubtless ready to draw his blood; and if in the hands of such daring men as Mucius, how small was his prospect of life. For some time Porsenna sat upon the tribunal, silent and meditative. Having carefully reflected upon his condition, and the chances of conquering a people who had resolved to resort to the most desperate measures in self-defence, he concluded that it would be the part of wisdom to propose terms of accommodation to the Romans.

The Story of Clœlia.

His resolution being taken, he at once sent ambassadors to the city with offers of peace, on condition that Tarquinius should be acknowledged king of Rome. This the Romans peremptorily refused; and the ambassadors, being instructed not to insist upon these terms, yielded, proposing at the same time to withdraw their army, on condition that the Romans should give up the lands which they had, some time before, taken from the Veientians; and that they should give hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty. The Romans having agreed to this, Porsenna removed his troops from the Janiculum and departed to his own country.

It is said that a young woman named Clœlia, one of the hostages, watching a favorable opportunity, escaped as they were about departing, with several of her companions, and swam across the Tiber, through a shower of darts discharged at them by the enemy. Arriving on the opposite shore, she with the others repaired to their respective homes; but Porsenna, hearing of the affair, was very angry, and sent ambassadors to Rome demanding the restoration of Clœlia. No sooner, however, had the ambassadors gone, than Porsenna expressed the greatest admiration of the conduct of Clœlia,

and declared that if she was restored he would send her back to Rome.

Faithful to the terms of their treaty, the Romans caused Clœlia to be sent back to the camp of the Etrurians. Porsenna not only complimented her upon her courageous conduct, but told her that she might return to the city and take with her half of the hostages. Granting her the privilege of choosing among them, it is said that she took the youngest, as she considered these most liable to injury from the enemy.

Peace being again restored, the Romans did not forget to reward Mucius for his heroic conduct. In addition to the honor which was paid to him, the Senate bestowed upon him a large tract near the river Tiber, called afterwards the Mucian meadows; and Mucius received the name of Scævola, or the left-handed, because his right hand was destroyed by the flames in which he held it. Nor did the conduct of Clœlia go unnoticed. Her intrepidity was commemorated by an equestrian statue erected at the head of the Sacred street.

Porsenna, unwilling to return home without the glory of a single victory, sent a portion of his forces to lay siege to Aricia, a city of Latium. It proved, however, an unfortunate un-

dertaking ; for although the attack was entirely unexpected, the Aricians contrived to defend their city until sufficient aid was received from the Latin States and from Cumæ, when they ventured an engagement in the field. The success of the Etrurians seemed at first beyond a doubt ; but an artful movement on the part of the cohorts of Cumæ decided the day, and the forces of Porsenna were completely beaten and scattered over the plains. A great many of them fled to Rome for protection. Here they were so kindly received, that Porsenna, in token of his gratitude, gave back to the Romans the lands which they had yielded agreeably to the treaty that had been lately made between them.

This circumstance was the cause of so strong a friendship between Porsenna and the Romans, that Tarquinius, despairing of ever being able to promote his own interests through their quarrels, went from Clusium to Tusculum, in hopes of procuring the aid of Octavius Mamilius, the renowned chief of the Latin nation. His application in this quarter was not in vain. Mamilius went secretly to work among the cities of Latium, and thirty of them joined in a league against the State of Rome.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

1955

THE WAR WITH THE LATINS.

FROM 503 TO 493 B. C

INCREASE of the Population of Rome—Public Lands—Poverty—Debts—Slaves—Octavius Manlius makes War—Difficulty of raising Troops—Abolishment of Debts—Opposition of Appius Claudius—Embarrassment of the Senate—Establishment of the Dictatorship—Powers of the Dictator—Noble Conduct of Lartius and Clælius—Lartius created Dictator—Preparations for War—Aulus Postumius—Battle of the Lake of Regillus—Result of the Battle—Castor and Pollux—Peace concluded with the Latins—Death of Tarquinius.

II.

THE WAR WITH THE LATINS.

BEFORE the Latins had completed their preparations for war, the Sabines, thinking that Rome had been enfeebled and humiliated by its late misfortune, began to plunder and annoy the inhabitants. Marcus Valerius and Publius Postumius, who were consuls at this time, immediately raised a sufficient army, and, marching into their country, chastised them severely, and compelled them to yield a large portion of their territories. The Sabines were not, however, completely subdued; and the Romans were constantly under the necessity of repelling their attacks or punishing their obstinacy. Nor were these the only enemies of Rome. The Volsci and Hernicians, sometimes in connection and sometimes separately, made attacks upon it, but generally with very little success.

These cruel and continued attacks upon the

young and struggling Republic were not without opposition even among the people who carried them on. A large number of the Sabines protested against the conduct of their countrymen, and used every argument to prevent them from committing further injuries. Among these, was one Attus Clausus, a man of great wealth and powerful connections. This man, having made repeated but ineffectual efforts to put an end to the aggressions of his people, and finally becoming discouraged and disgusted, resolved to abandon his native country and move with all his household and riches to Rome. A great many others followed his example, and it is said that Clausus went to Rome accompanied by no less than five thousand persons.

This was a very valuable accession to the Roman power, and Clausus met, of course, with a favorable reception. He was classed among the patricians, enrolled in the Senate, and designated by the more Roman name of Appius Claudius. The rights of citizenship were given to those who attended him, and lands upon the river Anio assigned for their support. Thus was formed the nucleus of what afterwards became the Claudian tribe. Appius was a man of stern and harsh character, loved by the pa-

tricians, dreaded by the plebeians, and exerting, as we shall presently see, a powerful influence in Rome.

It was not until six or seven years after the establishment of peace between Porsenna and the Romans, that Octavius Mamilius found himself prepared to undertake the destruction of the Roman Republic. When the news of his intended invasion reached Rome, the Consuls and Senate were filled with the utmost consternation, for, in addition to the troubles which threatened them abroad, the utmost disaffection existed at home. The common people, by reason of incessant wars and by the covetousness of the patricians, found themselves reduced to the most wretched poverty. Under the dominion of the kings they had always received a share of the booty, together with a portion of the lands taken from their enemies in war, the remainder being reserved to pay the expenses of the State; but the patricians, regarding themselves as the sovereigns of the Republic, appropriated to their own use the lands which were obtained by battle, or caused them to be sold in such a manner as to place all the profit in their own coffers.

Nor did they confine themselves to these usurpations only. It happened frequently that

the crops were insufficient by reason of an unfavorable season, or because of the devastations of an enemy. Whenever this was the case, these patricians, finding means to get possession of all, compelled the plebeians to have recourse to them for the necessaries of life. Those who wished food were obliged to borrow money, and this was lent to them only at exorbitant usury. Many thus incurred debts which they were utterly unable to pay; and the law in those days permitted the creditor to take the debtor, upon default of payment, to his own house, and retain him as his slave. Stripes and torments were likewise allowed, so that the conduct of the patricians rendered the sufferings of the people quite intolerable.

It was while the complaints of the plebeians were rising most loudly to the ears of the Senate, that the news came that Octavius Mamilius, with the combined armies of thirty Latin cities, was preparing to march against Rome. Already deputies from these people were within the walls, uttering the most bitter complaints, and declaring, for the sake of some excuse, that the Romans had violated their treaties and forfeited the respect and even the mercy of their neighbors. Hoping to derive great advantage from the embarrassing condition of the Senate,

Difficulty of raising Troops.

they demanded prompt satisfaction, and used violent threats in case of a refusal.

A speedy and dreadful war seemed inevitable, and the Roman Senate commenced the preparations usual upon such occasions. If their encouragement in beginning was small, it almost changed into despair as they proceeded. The difficulty of raising troops was exceedingly great. The people, disheartened by poverty, were not only averse to supporting a government which neither aided nor protected them, but they even declared that they would not take up arms, that they would leave the city, and compel those who appropriated to themselves the wealth, to fight for its possession. Various means were adopted to conciliate the disaffected, but they utterly refused to listen to the wishes of the patricians, unless the Senate would pass an ordinance whereby those burdened with debts might be relieved.

Failing in all their efforts to restore quiet among the plebeians, the Senate resolved to assemble and deliberate upon the demands of the rebellious. A difference of opinion was at once manifest among those composing this august body. Some, naturally inclined to mildness and not so rich as others, were favorable to making a law which should relieve the poor of

Marcus Valerius on the Abolishment of the Debts.

their debts; while others declaimed violently against it, as unwise and at variance with honor and justice. "I am of opinion," said Marcus Valerius, a much respected senator, "that by abolishing these debts we shall purchase the good-will of the citizens at a small price, and that the great gain which private individuals, as well as the public, may thence derive, will amply compensate for so small a loss. Such a measure would not be without precedent, for we all know that the Republic of Athens, on a similar occasion, at the instance of Solon, delivered its poor from the debts which embarrassed them. How glorious will it be for us to relieve those citizens who have rendered such great service to the Republic, who have shown so much courage in delivering their country from the cruelty of tyrants, who have always been ready to sacrifice themselves for the general good! Can we ask them to expose their lives, while we deny them the most trifling assistance? Is not their poverty more worthy of compassion than of hatred? Is not, in fact, this poverty more reproachful to us than to them?"

Having spoken in this manner for some time, Valerius at length sat down amid the applauses of a large number of the senators. But the

cause of the plebeians, which seemed to flourish for a season, speedily lost ground when Appius Claudius rose to speak. "The Senate has no right," said he, "to refuse the assistance of laws to those creditors who wish to use severity towards their debtors. A law abolishing private debts cannot be made without ruining the public faith; and those in whose favor it is demanded would be the first to suffer. The discontent of the great is not less to be feared than the murmurings of the people. Besides, many of those who are now suffering from poverty have ruined themselves by debauchery; and Rome would be happy if they should quit it forever. As to the unfortunate, it is but just to relieve them; but let it be the privilege of the creditors to distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy. The Republic has no right to give what does not belong to it; and if any among the people are deserving of an exemption from their debts, let those who have claims upon them be, at least, permitted to enjoy their gratitude. As to the sedition, the way to excite it, is to fear it. The least show of authority will inspire terror, and one or two examples of severity will restrain the rebellious and compel them to return to their duty."

With such words he put to silence the sup-

Embarrassment of the Senate—Oppression of the People.

porters of Valerius, and a long discussion having ensued, the Senate finally adjourned, resolving that they would make no decision in the matter until after the termination of the war. The people, in return, testified their disapprobation of this proceeding by renewing their complaints in more bitter terms, and showing in a more decided manner their determination to try their strength with that of the patricians.

The situation of the Senate became, day by day, more embarrassing. Their efforts to raise an army were not only fruitless, but ridiculous; and in the mean time rumors were constantly reaching Rome that the powerful forces of the Latins would soon be within their territory. Consternation and despair were painted on the faces of every patrician. The Senate not having sufficient power to enforce obedience to its will, feared that the punishment of the refractory would result in a civil war, more to be dreaded than the hatred of foreign enemies. But all that the Senate lacked in physical strength was made up in superior cunning; and, finding that they must yield, they determined that in doing it they would place the people under a yoke worse than that from which they hoped to escape. Pretending, there-

fore, to yield their authority, they resolved to introduce into the Republic a magistrate, whose power should be monarchical, and superior to all law, but of short duration. The substance of the decree which they made on this occasion was: "That Lartius and Clœlius, who were consuls at this time, together with all others in public authority, should lay aside their power; that there should be but one magistrate; that he should be selected by the Senate and confirmed by the voice of the people, and that his power should not continue longer than six months." The people, not foreseeing the consequences of this decree, received it as a token of submission on the part of the Senate, and readily agreed to be governed by the newly proposed magistrate.

The destiny of Rome, by the unanimous consent of the patricians and the people, was thus to be placed in the hands of a single man; a man whose voice was to be superior to that of consul, king, or senate. The laws of custom, by which they had been so long bound, together with those which they had written upon wood and brass, were to stand or fall as he alone might choose; all the officers of State, from the lowest to the highest rank, were to be at his disposal; the treasures of the Republic

were to be used as he might deem proper; peace and war were to be at his option; the armies were to march wherever he might order, and the people were to do his bidding, in whatever station he might choose to place them.

The name of Dictator was given to this newly created magistrate, and such was doubtless the extraordinary powers originally conferred upon him, although at a subsequent period, when circumstances demanded the exercise of this office, these powers were somewhat diminished. In later times the dictator could not use the public money without the authority of the Senate or the consent of the people. Neither could he leave Italy; nor was he permitted to ride on horseback without the permission of the people; and, what was a still greater check upon his conduct, he might be called to an account for his actions after the expiration of his term of office.

It was important that the man selected for this office should possess extraordinary abilities. He should be skilful in the affairs of government, experienced in the art of war; he should be a man of wisdom and resolution, and especially should he be possessed of the greatest moderation.

The consuls Titius Lartius and Lucius Clœlius were both excellent men, and worthy of being intrusted with the powers of Dictator; but it was believed that Lartius possessed qualifications superior to those of his colleague. The Senate, willing that either of them should be appointed to the office, proposed that they should decide the matter between themselves. Lartius at once recommended Clœlius as more deserving than himself, and Clœlius insisted that Lartius possessed abilities superior to his own; nor would either of them acknowledge that he merited to be preferred to the other. Such noble conduct could not fail to win universal admiration; and the Senate and people became more anxious that one of them should be persuaded to assume the title of Dictator. The people especially became eager in their demands, professing entire willingness to submit to the direction of men for whom the glory and advantages of absolute power possessed so little charm.

The Senate having waited a whole day, in the vain hope that one or the other of the two consuls would permit himself to be named for the new office, finally adjourned. In the evening, many of the relatives of Clœlius and Lartius, together with several of the most eminent

Lartius made Dictator—His Public Appearance.

senators, repaired to the house of Lartius, and besought him in the most earnest terms that he would sacrifice his generous feelings to the public good. Overcome at length by their continued remonstrances, he consented that his colleague should name him as Dictator.

Having accepted this new office, Lartius resolved to make such an impression on the people as was intended by its creation. To this end, he made his appearance before them with the utmost pomp. The kings had always been preceded by twelve lictors, each carrying in his hand an axe. These axes had been removed by the consul Valerius; but Lartius not only caused the axes to be restored, but he even doubled the number of the lictors, in token of a power superior to that of kings. The effect was precisely such as could be desired. A magistrate, such as the Dictator presented himself, was little in accordance with the expectations of the people. They were not only astonished but frightened at his appearance, having never before reflected upon the immense power with which he was clothed. The magnificence of his cortege, the proud and commanding air which he assumed, reminded them of the kings before whom they had lately trembled; and the obedience which they had promised to the new

ruler, was now yielded from the very awe with which he inspired them.

After having made a suitable impression upon the minds even of the most turbulent, he caused all the citizens to be enrolled with the utmost speed. The number of those above the age of sixteen years, was found to be a hundred and fifty thousand and seven hundred. Having separated the old men from those who were able to bear arms, he formed the latter into four bodies of infantry and cavalry. The first, composed of the bravest and most experienced troops, he reserved for himself, and, permitting Clœlius, his former colleague, to choose from the others, he gave the third to Spurius Cassius his general of cavalry, and the last to Spurius Lartius his brother.

Having completed his arrangements, Lartius, leaving one body of troops to protect the city, posted the other three at those places where he thought they would be most likely to encounter the enemy. But he was anxious, if possible, to secure peace without bloodshed; and believing that he might succeed in negotiating with the Latins, he sent prudent men to the principal chiefs of this nation, and finally succeeded in effecting a truce for one year.

Although a war with the Latins was inevita-

Preparations made for War.

ble, still its postponement for so long a time was gratifying both to the people and to the Senate. Lartius, believing that the office of Dictator was no longer necessary for the safety of Rome, returned with his army, and resigning his authority, named Sempronius Atratinus and Marcus Minucius as consuls for the remainder of the year.

Nothing now was thought of but the preparations necessary for the deadly struggle which must take place between Rome and the Latin nation. In order that civil discord might be prevented, the Senate issued a decree forbidding creditors to disturb their debtors until after the war. They also decreed that any Latin women who had married and settled in Rome should be permitted to go, with their daughters, to the home of their ancestors if they chose; they also invited those Roman women, who had married and gone into the cities of the Latins, to return with their daughters to Rome, for none could tell how dreadful would be the war which was shortly to begin. All the Latin women, it is said, but two remained in Rome with their husbands; while all the Roman women, loving Rome more than their husbands, took their young daughters, and came back to the homes of their fathers.

Aulus Postumius created Dictator.

In the mean time, another election for consuls had taken place, and Aulus Postumius and Titus Virginius were elevated to this office. But it was thought that this war between the Latins and the Romans would result in the destruction of one or the other nation; and at such a critical time, it was believed that the administration of government should be again placed in the hands of one person. The two consuls were therefore called upon to name a Dictator, and the consul Virginius named his colleague, Aulus Postumius, for this important office. This was only three days before the great battle of the Lake of Regillus, one of the most terrible conflicts in which Rome had ever been engaged.

As soon as every thing was in readiness, Aulus put himself at the head of his troops and marched forth boldly to meet the enemy. He took his course in the direction of Præneste, a city about twenty-five miles eastward from Rome. Arriving near the Lake of Regillus, which was not very far from Præneste, he perceived the immense army of Octavius Mamilius advancing towards him. His own army was by no means small, it being composed of twenty-four thousand infantry and three thousand horse; but the Latins far outnumbered

him, they being three thousand horse and forty thousand infantry.

Approaching each other, they immediately formed in battle array. Sextus Tarquinius appeared at the left wing of the Latins; Octavius Mamilius at the right; while Titus, the other son of Tarquinius, occupied the centre, at the head of the exiles, and of those who had preferred the party of the Tarquins to that of their country. The cavalry was also divided into three bodies, one in each wing, and one in the centre. Conspicuous, too, among the leaders was old King Tarquinius, though his head was now white with the frost of nearly ninety winters.

The Roman army, small when compared with that of the Latins, drew up boldly to the contest. Titus Æbutius, general of the cavalry, was stationed upon the left; the consul Virginius on the right; and the Dictator Aulus commanded the front of the battle. Though the Romans perceived at a glance that their force was unequal to that of their enemies, yet they were nowise daunted, but seemed rather to be endowed with twofold strength when they found that their former tyrant and his hateful sons were prominent among the leaders of their foes. The knowledge of this fact filled them

The Fury of the Battle.

with so much fury, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from rushing headlong into the battle.

Aulus, perceiving the ardor of his troops, and hearing, moreover, that the Latins expected further reinforcements, gave the signal for the battle. Nothing could exceed the rage and obstinacy with which the two armies dashed upon each other. That vast line of soldiers, extending over hill and dale, as far as the eye could reach, seemed suddenly and simultaneously moved as if by magic. Onward they flew, their swords and spears giving forth a sound that made the earth tremble around them. Nor was the battle confined to the soldiery alone. Those who were highest in command were conspicuous in the fight. Even old King Tarquinius dashed forward, lance in hand, to where it raged most fiercely; and his son Titus fought bravely by his side till obliged to retire, wounded by a javelin. Æbutius, also, the general of the Roman cavalry, heedless of his own person, darted upon Mamilius, commander-in-chief of the enemy, wounding him in the breast, and receiving in return a blow that nearly deprived him of an arm. So also was Titus Herminius fighting as bravely as he did upon the bridge, when Horatius Coclès un-

dertook to defend it against the combined forces of Porsenna. And Marcus Valerius, also, entered the contest, swearing that as his family had the honor of having banished the Tarquini, so they should possess that of having slain them. But the boast of Valerius was in vain; for, intent upon killing Titus Tarquinius, he rushed madly into the midst of a band of Latins, and was pierced by a score of darts. Revenge immediately took possession of those who witnessed the deed, and the body of Valerius was soon covered by a hundred of his foes.

The left wing of the Roman army, discouraged by the loss of its chiefs, and vigorously attacked by the exiles, began to give way and fly. The Dictator Aulus, perceiving it, gave orders for a detachment of cavalry to repair to the spot and compel the deserters to return, or slay them as enemies. Placing himself also at the head of a chosen band, he fell furiously upon the exiles, put them to flight, and slew Titus, the son of King Tarquinius.

This affair, so unfortunate for the Latin army, was perceived by Mamilius, their leader. Fearful of the consequences, he sped with a large detachment to aid the routed exiles. But Herminius, the lieutenant-general of the Ro-

man army, recognizing Mamilius by his clothes and arms, darted upon him and slew him at a single blow of his lance. A similar fate, however, befell Herminius, for as he stooped to despoil Mamilius he was pierced through with a javelin, and laid dead upon the body of his foe.

Still the left wing of the Latin army, under the command of Sextus Tarquinius, maintained their ground, and the Roman troops were even giving way before them, when Aulus, with a large body of cavalry, suddenly came to their relief. Sextus, believing his situation to be hopeless, rushed upon the Romans with the fury of despair. With his own sword he cut down all before him, until at length, entirely surrounded by enemies, he was hurled to the ground, covered with blood and wounds.

The Latins, perceiving that their chieftains were all slain, were thrown into the utmost confusion. The inferior officers participating in the general alarm, failed to exert any command, and in a short time that immense army began an inglorious and disorderly flight. The victory of the Romans was complete. The battle had continued during the whole day, and when they laid down at night, they were surrounded by the dead bodies of thirty thousand

The two mysterious Horsemen.

of their enemies; they also had in charge five thousand prisoners, together with a large amount of the richest spoils.

Many wonderful things are related of the battle of the Lake of Regillus. Among others, it is said that during one period of the battle the Romans gave way so rapidly before the Latins, that Aulus fell down upon his knees and vowed a temple to the deities Castor and Pollux, if they would aid him to win the victory. No sooner had he risen to his feet than two horsemen, arrayed in glittering apparel and upon snow-white steeds, appeared at the head of the Roman bands, exciting all around them to courage, and carrying destruction wheresoever they went. Wherever the battle was fiercest, there might these shining cavaliers be seen; nor did they quit their dangerous position until the camp was taken and the enemy put to flight; but when Aulus inquired for them, in order that he might bestow upon them a reward suited to their valor, they could not be found, either among the living or the dead. As the sun went down, the people of Rome became anxious to know how the battle had gone; and while they were wondering as to the fate of their friends, there suddenly appeared in the Forum two shining horsemen upon

snow-white horses, having every appearance of men who had just come from the battle, and their horses all covered with foam. Going immediately to the fountain by the temple of Vesta, they washed away the stains of the fight, and related to all who crowded around them how the battle had been fought, and how it had been won. Then they mounted their horses and rode from the Forum; nor could they ever be found again, though diligent search was made for them in every place.

Accounts of the battle were sent to the Senate and to the people on the following day; and mention is said to have been made of the two shining horsemen. Then every one believed that Castor and Pollux had aided Aulus to obtain his victory, and a temple was accordingly raised in their honor.

Great was the rejoicing in Rome when Aulus with his victorious army returned, bearing their rich trophies, and accompanied by their numerous prisoners. He was honored with a magnificent triumphal procession, and a tenth part of the spoils was set apart for the celebration of games, and for the performance of suitable sacrifices.

These had scarcely been concluded, when the Latins sent ambassadors to Rome, chosen from

Peace concluded with the Latins.

all the principal cities which had opposed the recent war. They brought olive branches in their hands; and appearing before the Senate, made long speeches, in which they condemned the conduct of their countrymen, and threw the blame of the war upon their rulers. They confessed that they had been justly punished, and desired to become the inseparable friends of the Romans, promising implicit obedience to their commands, and aid to them in all their enterprises.

The Senate did not seem much inclined to listen to their professions, inasmuch as they had hitherto proved themselves false and treacherous. Nevertheless, it was finally determined to grant them peace, on condition that they would deliver up all their deserters, drive away the exiles who had taken refuge among them, and surrender those whom they had taken prisoners. "Do all this," said the Dictator to them, "and then return, and we will conclude with you a treaty of peace."

A few days after, the ambassadors returned, bringing with them the deserters, whom they had caused to be arrested. A treaty of friendship was then arranged; and thus, after struggling fourteen years against the machinations of King Tarquinius, Rome at last beheld him

Death of Tarquinius.

completely overthrown. Driven away from the cities of the Latins, he was obliged to take refuge in Cumæ, where he, at last, died in obscurity and wretchedness. The news of his death was received with great joy at Rome, both among the senators and the commons; but it was the signal for fresh injuries to the people, and further disturbances of the public peace.

THE PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS.

FROM 493 TO 491 B. C.

SERVILIUS and Appius Claudius—Oppression of the Poor
—The Story of the old Centurion—Trouble with the People
—A threatened Invasion—Preparations for Battle—The Vol-
sci repulsed—Further Troubles on account of the Debts—
The Sabines attack Rome—The People refuse to enlist—A
Dictator created—Rome's Enemies defeated—Retirement of
the People to Mons Sacer—Effort of the Patricians to bring
them back.

III.

THE PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS.

SINCE the creation of the first Dictator, the patricians had learned that their own safety, as well as that of the commonwealth, depended upon their treatment of the poorer classes. These must be conciliated, if protection was needed against the enemies of the Republic. One source, and a very great source too, of their uneasiness was removed, since death had prevented Tarquinius from giving them any further trouble. No sooner did they see themselves delivered from this fear, than the rich commenced the same hateful course which had so exasperated the poor upon former occasions. Those debts which had before created so much trouble, remained still unpaid. They were now talked of, and their payment vehemently demanded. The poor expostulated, and earnestly plead their inability. The creditors replied,

Servilius and Appius Claudius.

that they had acted with leniency; that they had submitted to a law which had robbed them of their rights; that the war was at last brought to a close, and that the time for the settlement of their claims had now arrived. Severity was used; and it was not long before the utmost cruelty was resorted to. It is not surprising, then, that a general discontent should follow, and that the city should again be threatened with civil discord. In the midst of all this, Aulus Postumius resigned the dictatorship, and Appius Claudius and Publius Servilius were elected consuls.

The election of these two men to the consulship was a contrivance, and perhaps a good contrivance, of the Senate; for, although they both possessed excellent traits, they were very different in their dispositions. Appius was a man of great resolution, and a severe observer of the laws; while Servilius, on the other hand, was gentle, humane, and agreeable to the poor and to the multitude. There was nothing more certain than a contrariety of opinions between them. Servilius could not fail, from the goodness of his heart, to favor the suppression of debts, or at least the taking off of the exorbitant and accumulated interest, which already exceeded the debts themselves. Appius, on the

contrary, maintained that it was unjust to relieve the debtor at the expense of the creditor; and he urged that the course proposed by Servilius would be regarded by the seditious only as a mark of concealed weakness, and that new pretensions would be thereby fostered.

The discussions which they held together did not fail to reach the ears of the people, and public feeling was exhibited in the praises which were bestowed upon Servilius, as well as in the curses which were heaped upon the head of Appius, his colleague.

All the efforts of Servilius were in vain. The poor were dreadfully oppressed by their merciless creditors, who delivered them up to prisons and stripes, and made them undergo the most cruel treatment. Still they cried out bitterly against the law, and made frequent and bold endeavors to free themselves from their oppressions. Secret meetings were held in the night-time; means of deliverance were constantly devised and discussed; and, in a short time, the city was thrown into the most violent commotion.

Upon a certain occasion, while a great number of the people were collected together and talking over their grievances, a very aged and feeble centurion, loaded with heavy chains,

threw himself in their midst, claiming their protection. His clothes were soiled and torn, his face pale and disfigured, and his whole appearance gave evidence of the grossest maltreatment. Notwithstanding his pitiful and wretched condition, there were many present who recognized him, and who said that he had formerly been a centurion that had often won distinction by his bravery in battle. He himself showed the scars which he had received in various combats, and gave the names of the consuls and officers under whom he had served. Upon being asked by the multitude, whence he came, and why he was in such a deplorable condition, he replied, that while he was serving in the war against the Sabines, the enemy had fallen upon his property, destroying not only the crops which covered his fields, but the house which protected his little ones; that they had carried away his flocks and herds, and all that he had laid by to support himself and family. He said, too, that, to increase his misfortunes, a heavy tribute had been exacted from him at a time when he was without the means to pay it; that, in order to satisfy this demand, he had been compelled to borrow money on exorbitant interest; that this interest having accumulated, he had been obliged first

to sell his lands, then his household goods, and, finally, that he had been compelled to deliver himself as a slave to those who had taken possession of his substance. He said, moreover, that his creditors had treated him, not as a slave, but as a criminal condemned to the severest punishment; and in proof of this, exhibited upon his back the marks of the whips and rods with which his flesh had been torn.

As soon as he had finished speaking and showing his wounds, the people raised a tumult which pervaded the whole city; others who had suffered similar maltreatment, ran from all quarters, imploring the protection of their fellows, and the multitude soon became so great as to create considerable alarm among the patricians. Some of them, indeed, would have doubtless lost their lives, had not the consuls hastened to appease the anger of the populace. As soon as these magistrates made their appearance, the multitude turned towards them, and exhibited the chains and ignominious stripes that had been inflicted upon those who had hazarded their lives in behalf of the Republic. They demanded, in threatening language, that the Senate should be assembled at once; and that something should be done to

protect them from the injuries to which they were exposed.

Some of the senators having collected together, the people assembled in crowds around their place of meeting, determined that they should act promptly and efficiently in their behalf. But either through fear, or a disinclination to act, they sent out word to them that there was not a sufficient number present to transact business. This excuse was not, however, satisfactory, and the tumult continued with increasing fury. The absent senators being finally convened, they promised to do something at once to relieve the people.

In the midst of all this tumult, the attention of the multitude was suddenly attracted towards a horseman who was seen riding furiously over the distant hills in the direction of Rome. Onward he came, as if life depended on the speedy fulfilment of his course. The multitude gazed and wondered, and seemed for the time to forget the cause which had brought them together. Presently the horseman was hid behind the walls which he was rapidly approaching; and then the city gates flew open, and, without slackening his pace, he bounded forward towards the place of assembly. "To arms! To arms, Romans!" he shouted; "the

Volscians are coming, with an army more numerous than the trees of the forest!"

The man who brought this intelligence was a friendly chieftain of the Latin nation, and no one doubted the truth of what he said. A profound silence instantly pervaded the vast assemblage. Presently there arose a shout of fiendish joy, that rang long and loudly through the distant hills and valleys. "The gods are on our side!" shouted the furious multitude; "they will soon humble the pride of these inhuman senators. Let the Volscians come; and let us all, plebeians and patricians, die together!"

The news of the threatened invasion had now reached the senate-chamber; so, too, the shout of joy with which it had been received by the maddened people. All was confusion and uncertainty. The senators, at length recovering somewhat from their shock, besought the consul Servilius, who was more popular than his colleague, to go out and endeavor to appease the people, and bring them back to a sense of their duty. Appearing in their midst, Servilius assured them in the most soothing manner, that the Senate were seriously deliberating upon the best means of gratifying their wishes. He represented to them that the consternation pro-

Murmurings cease—Preparations for Battle.

duced by hearing of the approach of their enemies, together with the necessity of immediate action on their part, made it impossible for them to labor effectually in behalf of the private interests of the citizens. He implored them, for the sake of their wives and children, to lay aside their hostility towards the patricians, and to aid in the public defence. He promised also that upon the close of the war, every thing should be done which could promote their welfare; and decreed that, in the mean time, no debt whatever should be prosecuted.

The well-known kindness of Servilius, the zeal which he had always manifested in behalf of the people, together with the mildness and eloquence with which he spoke, were powerful enough to calm all murmurings. The people permitted themselves to be enrolled, and even exhibited considerable ardor in ranging themselves under the standards of their leaders. Marching out of the city, with Servilius at their head, they encountered the enemy, who were hastening forward, confident of victory. The battle was delayed until the consul felt assured that the sudden animation of his troops was not affected. Seeing that they were really eager for the combat, he gave the signal, and never

did soldiers display greater bravery or intrepidity. The Volscians, unable to withstand their attack, fell back terrified and confused. The Romans pursued them even into the midst of their camp. Their triumph was complete; and, loading themselves with booty, they marched on to Suessa Pometia, where the remnant of the enemy had fled. Here the Volscians defended themselves with much obstinacy during several days, but were finally compelled to yield. Having pillaged all the houses and stores, and put the inhabitants to the sword, Servilius returned with his victorious troops to Rome.

These additional victories inspired the people with a hope that the Senate would now grant the relief which had been promised to them through the consul Servilius. A short time, therefore, after their return from the recent campaign, they demanded a fulfilment of the promise. But Appius had become jealous of the success of his colleague Servilius, and, in order to throw him into contempt, he caused the law to be enforced with all its severity against debtors. Those who were thereby persecuted resorted to Servilius for protection: but it was all in vain; for even if he had been able to help them, he was now disinclined to

Further Troubles grow out of the Debts.

interfere, inasmuch as his colleague and all the nobility were favorable to opposite measures. But by this course of conduct he not only acquired the hatred of the plebeians, but lost the esteem of the patricians; the former regarded him as a deceiver, and the latter considered him as devoid of the firmness necessary to a ruler.

The people now, giving up all hopes of protection, resolved to take matters in their own hands. Persons were stationed in the neighborhood of the courts for the purpose of watching whatever transpired. Whenever any debtor was seized and led in for trial, a crowd rushed in from all quarters, making so much clamor and confusion as to prevent the voices of the officers from being heard, and likewise to deter any one from executing the sentence of the law. The people seemed likely to obtain by force what they had failed to procure by entreaty; and the creditor, who was now assailed and abused by the angry multitude, seemed even in greater dread of losing his liberty than the debtor. In the midst of this difficulty, an alarm was spread that the Sabines were intending to make an attack upon the city. Orders were promptly issued for a levy of troops, but not a single man would suffer himself to be en-

rolled. Dismay again took possession of the Senate. The consul Servilius flattered the people in vain, and in vain did the consul Appius scold and threaten to visit their disobedience with the severest penalties of the law. They bade the senators to take up arms themselves; they told Servilius that his promises were no better than those of their perjured allies, and they ridiculed the rage of Appius and dared him to execute the threats of which he was so lavish. Every day matters grew worse and worse, and most serious fears were entertained for the safety of the commonwealth.

About this time, the terms of the consuls Servilius and Appius drawing to a close, the friends of the Republic hoped that the election of consuls more agreeable to the people would be productive of some degree of quiet. Aulus Virginius and Titus Vetustus were the persons elected to office; but the people, now uncertain as to what kind of governors were set over them, held regular nightly meetings upon the Esquiline and Aventine mounts, in order that they might, at any time, be able to act promptly and in concert. These meetings caused great uneasiness to the consuls, and the Senate upbraided them in the bitterest terms, because they did not put a stop to them, and make ex-

Vain attempts to raise Troops—Dictator created.

amples of the ringleaders. A decree was now passed, that the consuls should enforce the levies with the utmost strictness. This they accordingly attempted, and, mounting the tribunal, they cited the younger citizens by their names; but no other answer was made except a shout from the multitude, "that the common people could no longer be deceived; and that not a single soldier should be raised until the public engagements were fulfilled; that every man must have his liberty restored, before arms were put into his hands, in order that the people might be convinced that they were to fight for their country and fellow-citizens, not for their masters."

It was evident enough to the consuls, that neither they nor the Senate possessed sufficient power to control this determined multitude; so, after making one or two vain efforts to enforce obedience, they concluded to resign their office and create a Dictator.

The person whom they selected was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publius Valerius, who had always been a great favorite of the people. The choice proved very acceptable to every one, and he at once gained the confidence of all, by proclaiming that no person should be molested on account of debt, and by promising

to terminate, at the close of the campaign, all the difficulties of the commons. The citizens once more gave in their names, and suffered themselves to be enrolled without any opposition. Ten legions were raised, each composed of four thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. Three of these were placed under the command of each consul, and four under the Dictator.

There was no further time to be lost. The Equans were already invading the territories of the Latins, and ambassadors were in Rome beseeching the Senate to send troops to the assistance of their allies. The Volscians, too, were in the field, and the Sabines were committing depredations on every hand. Onward, therefore, went the Roman armies, led in different directions by the consuls and the Dictator, and, though far surpassed in numbers by their foes, victory failed not to accompany them. The Equans, the Volscians, and the Sabines were cut to pieces, or sent flying to their homes; and the Roman leaders brought back their troops covered with glory and laden with the spoils of their enemies.

As soon as the army had returned to Rome, the Dictator Valerius appeared before the Senate, and demanded of them what course they

Valerius resigns the Dictatorship.

intended to pursue in regard to those persons who were confined for debt. In reply to his inquiries, the Senate giving him to understand, that they were opposed to taking the matter into consideration, Valerius thus addressed them: "My endeavors, senators, to restore concord are, I see, displeasing to you; believe me, when I solemnly declare, that the time will shortly come when you will wish that the commons of Rome had just such patrons as I am; as to myself, I will neither be the means of further disappointments to the hopes of my countrymen, nor will I hold the office of Dictator without effect. Intestine discord and foreign wars made it necessary for the commonwealth to have such a magistrate; peace has been procured abroad; at home it is not suffered to take place; it is my determination then, in time of sedition, to appear in the character of a private citizen, rather than in that of Dictator."

Having delivered this speech, he left the Senate chamber, abdicating at the same time the dictatorship. The common people, believing that he had resigned his office on account of the ill-treatment which they had received, attended him, as he retired to his house, with gratitude and applause.

Upon the abdication of Valerius, those le-

gions assigned to him were disbanded according to custom; but the other six legions which had been under the command of the consuls were still kept together, and ready for service. In order that they might not be broken up, the Senate instructed the consuls to lead them out against the Equans, who, they pretended, had renewed their hostilities. The design of the patricians was, however, too evident, and the commons resolved unanimously, but silently, that they would no longer suffer themselves to be deceived. Obedient to the commands of the consuls they took up their arms, and, marching forth from the city, encamped on the banks of the river Anio near to Rome.

The day drawing to a close, they lighted their camp-fires and made the usual preparations for the night. But as they were all going about, each in the performance of his respective duty, word was passed around, from man to man, that none of the commons should go to sleep that night, but be ready at a signal to follow their secret leaders. At the appointed time, when the patricians, stretched upon their soft couches, were locked in slumber, they all marched silently forth with their arms and standards, and took possession of a fortified hill about three miles distant from the city.

The Patricians strive to bring them back.

The vexation of the consuls and of the officers may be easily imagined, when, at the break of day, they discovered themselves to have been entirely deserted by their troops; and it being no difficult matter to ascertain the direction in which they had gone, we cannot doubt that immediate measures were taken to bring back the deserters to their duty. The proud patricians followed, then, with all speed in the track of their revolting army, and reaching the base of the hill where the rebels had encamped, sought, by alternate reproaches and promises, to win them again to obedience.

“Enough, enough!” shouted Sicinius, who acted as a leader among the soldiers. “How have ye the heart, O patricians, to call back men whom ye yourselves turn into slaves or exiles? How will ye give us faith in promises so often broken as yours have been? If ye wish the city to yourselves, go hence unhindered; but for us, our country shall be that in which we can find liberty.”

The consuls and the patricians were soon convinced of their inability to contend against so much resolution, and, therefore, quietly mounting their horses they turned towards Rome.

THE TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

FROM 491 TO 485 B. C.

FEARS of the Patricians—Embassy to the Revolters—Their Reception and Offers—Discourse of Junius Brutus—Fable related by Menenius—Reconciliation of the Plebeians—Cunning of Brutus—Tribunes of the People created—Their Powers—The Ædiles—Famine in Rome—Coriolanus—His Character—The Hatred of the People towards him—He is cited before them—Efforts made to save him—His Trial and Condemnation—He offers his Services to the Volsci—He goes to the house of Tullus Attius—His Reception—Enters into the Service of the Volsci—Marches against Rome—Failure of the different Embassies sent to him—His Mother prevailed upon to intercede with him—Her Appeal to him in behalf of Rome—Her Success—Death of Coriolanus.





CORIOLANUS AND HIS MOTHER.

IV.

THE TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE.

No sooner had the news of the revolt of the plebeians reached Rome, than the whole city was thrown into the greatest commotion. Those who had friends and relatives among the rebels, naturally felt for them the greatest solicitude, and in many cases undertook to join them. The patricians, meanwhile, terrified by the loss of citizens upon whom they depended for defence and service, endeavored to retain all who remained behind, and, closing the gates of the city, promised to make the most friendly efforts to bring back those who had thus gone into voluntary exile. There were many, nevertheless, who fled to join their kinsmen upon the Sacred Hill.

The city, thus deserted, was in the utmost danger from its numerous foes, who, in time, hearing of the civil discord by which it had

been rent, would be certain to make it an easy prey. To make the best of their condition, the patricians armed themselves, their clients, and as many as they could gather from the lowest classes of the plebeians. They strengthened also the gates, manned the towers, and set their posts without the walls. Besides all this, through the temperate counsels of the wiser patricians, it was resolved to send an embassy to the revolters, who still remained upon the hill by the river Anio, increasing daily in number, and procuring such food and shelter as the neighboring lands afforded. It may be easily imagined that the revolters themselves were quite as anxious as the patricians to become reconciled with their countrymen, for it was not very probable that they could form a more agreeable alliance; and the means of gaining a subsistence, after the harvests around them had been reaped, would be very scanty indeed.

When, therefore, the commissioners, sent by the Senate, came within sight of the hill, the whole throng of revolters descended to meet them. At their head was Sicinius, whose name has been already mentioned, and Junius Brutus, a very quick-witted and self-esteeming personage. At the head of the embassy was Menenius Agrippa, whose off-hand eloquence had

Reception of the Embassy.

made him a general favorite at Rome. He had, moreover, sprung from the plebeians himself, and was, therefore, a very suitable person to be intrusted with such a matter.

Reaching the great multitude that flocked down the hill to meet him and his associates, he made known to them at once the wishes of the Senate, and besought them to return peacefully to Rome. But the plebeians, who had been apprised of the approach of the embassy, determined to cross at first the negotiations of the commissioners, and, by raising obstacles to union and peace, to gain every possible advantage. Accordingly, when they had stated their message from the Senate, Junius Brutus immediately cried out: "The Senate betray their fear; we are masters if we know how to improve this opportunity; speak, then, all that you have to say, and I will endeavor to answer, in the name of my comrades, in such a way as will be equally useful and agreeable to them."

It was thereupon agreed that the commissioners and the multitude should reascend the hill and talk the matter over in the camp. Having here arranged themselves in the most convenient manner, both for speaking and listening, M. Valerius began the negotiation by offering, in the name of the Senate, pardon to

all the revolters, and, at the same time, an earnest appeal to them to return to the city, where their wives and children were sighing for their embraces.

This speech was replied to by Sicinius, who urged that, before the people consented to this, it was but just that they themselves should open their grievances, and know what they might hope from the fine promises of the Senate. Closing his harangue with a call upon the soldiers to defend the public liberty, he was immediately followed by Junius Brutus, who addressed himself to the multitude in such a way as to encourage them in their revolt, and to increase in them a hatred of the patricians, who were already beginning to feel the want of their protection and their service. Then, turning towards the ambassadors, he cried out: "You invite us to return to Rome, but you do not tell us upon what conditions. You talk to us of nothing but pardon and forgiveness, as if we were your subjects, and subjects in rebellion; but that is the point to be decided. The question is—Which is in the fault, the people or the Senate? which of these two orders first violated that common society which ought to subsist between the citizens of one and the same republic?"

In a long oration, he then related to them a number of facts by which he showed the continued devotion of the commons to the higher classes, and the self-sacrificing spirit which they had ever manifested in their behalf; and concluded by asking them to show what recompense the commons had ever received for their assistance. "Instead of assistance," said he, "have not our bravest soldiers, oppressed with the weight of usury, groaned beneath the chains of their merciless creditors? Have not your promises to relieve us been forgotten, and have not our services been denied? Suffer us, then, to depart from a country where we are treated like so many slaves; and, so long as we have our swords in our hands, we shall be able to open for ourselves a way into more fortunate climes."

Every one of the multitude, by his looks and gestures, testified to the truth of these words; and many came forward and showed the marks of the stripes and injuries which they had received. T. Largius, the head of the embassy, endeavored to justify the conduct of the patricians and of the creditors; but he only made the matter worse, and even provoked Sicinius to interrupt his speech, and to order him and his fellow commissioners to propose the condi-

tions which they were empowered to make, or to leave the camp at once.

This brought out Menenius, a man of great prudence and penetration, who, in a speech full of moderation and wisdom, was able to win the attention and respect of the multitude. He stated to them that the Senate had carefully inquired into the poverty of the plebeians and the severity of their creditors, and that it was their determination to annul all obligations, and to declare the poor citizens free of all manner of debts. Taking advantage of the softening influence of his words, he represented to them how necessary it was to the State that one part of the citizens should be richer than another, and enforced this maxim by relating to them the following fable: "At a time when the members of the human body did not, as at present, all unite in one plan, but each member had its own scheme and its own language, the other parts were provoked at seeing that the fruits of all their care were applied to the use of the stomach; and that the stomach meanwhile remained at its ease, and did nothing but enjoy the pleasures provided for it. On this they conspired together, that the hands should not bring food to the mouth, nor the mouth receive it if offered, nor the teeth chew it.

While they wished, through these angry measures, to subdue the stomach through hunger, the members and the whole body were, together with it, reduced to the last stage of decay. From thence it appeared that the office of the stomach itself was not confined to a slothful indolence; that it not only received nourishment, but supplied it to the others, conveying to every part of the body that blood on which depends our life and vigor, by distributing it equally through the veins, after having brought it to perfection by digestion of the food."

Making an application of this fable to the present case, and showing the great similarity between the dissension of the members and the resentment of the commons against the patricians, he made a powerful impression upon the people. "Receive our embraces as the first fruits of peace," said he, "and let us enter all together into Rome; let us jointly carry thither the first news of our reunion; and may the gods who protect this empire, grant that it may be hereafter celebrated by new victories!"

All the people, moved by this speech, cried out to Menenius that they were satisfied, and that he might lead them back to Rome. But the cunning Brutus checked their sudden transport, and insisted upon having some pledge of

Tribunes of the People created.

the sincerity of the patricians. "Grant us," said he, "some officers chosen out of the body of the plebeians! We ask for them neither purple robes, nor the curule chair, nor the lic-tors; but let them have the power to hinder the injustices that may be done to the people, and to defend their interests, both public and private."

This demand took the commissioners by surprise; and having conferred together on the subject, they agreed that this exceeded the bounds of their instructions, but that some of them would go back to the city and obtain the answer of the Senate. The distance not being great, and the Senate being easily convened, it was determined, after some discussion, to end the dispute by allowing the Plebeians to elect yearly from their number certain magistrates, who were to be called *Tribunes of the People*. Before leaving their camp upon the hill, they accordingly elected, for the first Tribunes, L. Junius Brutus, and C. Licinius Bellutus, the leaders of the revolt.* And now having nothing to detain them any longer from Rome, they first performed a sacrifice to the gods upon the

* Livy says that C. Licinius and Lucius Albenus were the first Tribunes, and that they created three colleagues, one of whom was Sicinius.

hill, which they afterwards called Mons Sacer; and then, led by their Tribunes and the commissioners, they went to the embraces of their wives and their children.

The establishment of the Tribuneship was another change in the form of the government of Rome. From a monarchy to a kind of aristocracy, it was by slow steps approaching a democracy.

The Tribunes, it is true, had little in their appearance to awaken any apprehension on the part of the proud patricians. They were dressed like the plainest citizens, attended only by a single servant called *viator*, and never admitted inside of the senate-chamber, except on invitation. But they had the right to oppose and wholly nullify the decrees of this august Senate by simply using the little Latin word *veto*, which means, *I forbid it*; and this they wrote at the bottom of these decrees, when they thought them contrary to the liberty of the people. This was a simple and unobjectionable means of preventing oppression; but it will be seen in the end that, under pretence of securing the liberty of the people, these humble magistrates concealed a design of ruining the authority of the Senate. It was not long before they obtained permission to choose, as their as-

sistants, two plebeians, with the title of *ædiles*, who, from acting as their agents, finally became inspectors of the public edifices, baths, aqueducts, &c. Still Rome presented every appearance of repose, and the friendly feelings between the plebeians and the patricians seemed to be sincere and durable. But the fire of division had not been wholly quenched.

During the consulate which followed the revolt, a terrible famine occurred, and, as a matter of course, all kinds of provisions were sold at an excessively high price. Bitter complaints were made on the part of the people, and it was commonly believed that the patricians, having their granaries full, had occasioned the public dearth, in order to make up to themselves the abolition of the debts. This opinion was very much strengthened, too, by the conduct of *Marcus Coriolanus*, an avowed enemy of the power of the *Tribunes*. “If the plebeians wish to have provisions at the usual price,” said he, “let them restore to the patricians their former rights. Why am I obliged, after being sent under the yoke—after being ransomed, as it were, from robbers—to behold plebeian magistrates, to behold *Sicinius* invested with power and authority? The road is open to the Sacred Mount, and to other hills; let them carry off

the corn from our lands, as they did two years ago."

This Marcius Coriolanus was descended from one of the most illustrious patrician families in Rome. He had been brought up with great care by his mother, Veturia, a woman of noted austerity, who had taken every pains to inspire him with her own sentiments. At an early period, he showed great capacity for the art of war. Indeed, he received the surname of Coriolanus for having distinguished himself so much in the capture of Corioli, one of the cities of the Volsci, which he set on fire with his own hand, performing at the same time many valourous exploits. His harshness of manner was, however, so great, that he could never make himself a favorite among the people, who, while they admired his valor, his uprightness, and his generosity, dreaded his severity and his pride. When he wished the consulship, the plebeians therefore refused to him their votes, and for this reason he ever entertained for them the greatest hatred. It is not surprising, then, that he should have endeavored to avenge himself upon the plebeians, at a time when their poverty threw them so completely in his power.

The speech of Coriolanus, just now quoted,

was highly applauded by the younger senators, who openly advocated the abolishment of the Tribuneship; but the Tribunes, on the other hand, who happened to be present by invitation, were very much incensed; and assembling the people tumultuously, they cried out that the patricians had made a league to destroy them, their wives and their children, unless the plebeians delivered their magistrates, chained, into the hands of Coriolanus. They declared that he was a second tyrant rising up in the Republic, and aiming at their death or slavery.

The plebeians had now, however, acquired so much power that they no longer entertained the idea of deserting, as upon a former occasion, but rather of making a trial of their strength with the patricians in the very centre of Rome itself. Nothing now but the destruction of their enemies could be thought of; but, that the forms of justice might be observed, they summoned Coriolanus to come and answer for his conduct before an assembly of the people. But this proud senator sending back their officer with contempt, they waited for him at the door of the Senate, in order to seize him when he should come out. As he made his appearance, therefore, the ædiles were or-

dered to lead him to prison ; but the command was not an easy one to execute, for Coriolanus and his friends stood upon their defence, and, using well their fists, forced the ædiles to make a quick retreat. A general disturbance immediately ensued, in which the plebeians on one side, and the patricians on the other, commenced abusing and reproaching one another in the bitterest terms. In the midst of it the consuls arrived, and by means of entreaties, as well as by their authority, succeeded in dispersing the multitude and sending them to their homes.

But the plebeians, conscious of their power, had determined not so easily to abandon their game. On the following day, therefore, they assembled in crowds at the Forum to talk over their grievances, and to contrive plans for remedying them. The patricians also assembled with them, and the conduct of Coriolanus being the exciting theme, much was said by both parties for and against him. Coriolanus himself was there ; and being called upon to say, as had been stated by his friends, that he was willing to ask pardon if he had done wrong, he inveighed more violently than ever against the enterprises of the Tribunes, and declared boldly, that the people had no right to

Coriolanus cited before the People.

judge a senator; that the consuls and the Senate alone had a right to call him to account for his behavior.

A serious attempt would have been made to destroy him at once, had not the cunning Brutus perceived that the people were not, at the moment, in a mood to lay hands upon him and to drag him from the midst of his numerous compeers. This individual then holding a brief consultation with the Tribune Sicinius, the latter cried out: "You see, O Romans, that it is not the fault of the patricians that much blood is not shed to-day, and that they are ready to come to the greatest extremity to rescue the declared enemies of the Roman people out of the hands of justice. But it is our duty to set them better examples: we will do nothing rashly. Though the criminal is sufficiently convicted by his own confession, we are yet willing to give him time to prepare his defence. We cite thee," added he, addressing himself to Coriolanus, "to appear before the people in seven and twenty days. As to the distribution of the corn, if the Senate does not take due care of that matter, the Tribunes will give directions about it themselves."

It was very hard for the Senate to yield to such an extraordinary measure; but agreeably

to the *Valerian law*, every man having the right to appeal to the people from the decrees of the Senate and the judgments of the consuls, it seemed useless for them to refuse the demand. Besides, it was not a single plebeian that complained, but the whole body of the Roman people, who were demanding the condemnation of a tyrant who had been charged with attempting to destroy his fellow-citizens by famine, and with having proposed the abolition of the tribuneship, a magistracy made sacred by the most solemn oaths.

Appius Claudius and other patricians did all in their power to save Coriolanus from the people; but the consul M. Valerius, believing that the Senate, by letting go some little of its authority, would secure the duration of it, and that nothing would be more likely to disarm the people's rage against the illustrious criminal than by allowing them to judge him, turned to Coriolanus, and besought him in the most tender manner to give peace to the Republic. "Go, Coriolanus," said he; "offer yourself generously to the judgment of the people: this is the only honorable way of justifying yourself; this is the surest means to silence those who accuse you of aiming at tyranny. The people, moved with beholding so great a soul

bowing under the power of their Tribunes, can never bring themselves to pronounce sentence of condemnation upon Coriolanus. If, on the other hand, you show contempt for the tribunals of the people, you will become the fatal torch ; and who can tell how far the flame may run. Set Rome, therefore, before your eyes, and give it an exhibition of your love."

The minds of many of the senators being thus disposed to peace by the speech of Valerius, they united with him, beseeching Coriolanus to yield himself to a trial by the people. "You know, Conscript Fathers," replied Coriolanus, addressing the senators, "what the whole course of my life has hitherto been. You know that this obstinate hatred of the people, and that unjust persecution which I now suffer from it, are occasioned only by the inviolable zeal which I have always shown for the interests of this body. I will not insist upon the returns I now meet with ; the event will show the weakness and perhaps the malice of the counsels which are given you in this affair. But since Valerius's opinion has at length prevailed, let me know, at least, what is the crime that I am charged with, and upon what conditions I am delivered over to the fury of my adversaries."

Coriolanus consents to be tried.

After some consultation, the Tribunes agreed that they would confine their whole accusation to the single crime of tyranny. "If it be so," replied Coriolanus, "and I have nothing to disprove but a calumny so ill-grounded, I freely yield myself to the judgment of the people."

Thus, with the consent of all parties, the decree was signed, allowing Coriolanus seven and twenty days to prepare his defence. And when the day arrived, an immense multitude crowded the Forum at an early hour. The friends of Coriolanus labored faithfully in his behalf; while, on the other hand, the Tribunes and all his enemies did every thing in their power to accomplish his destruction. Coriolanus himself answered the suspicions which had been cast upon him, by a simple narration of his services. He gave an account of all the engagements in which he had taken part, showed the wounds which he had received, the military honors which his generals had bestowed upon him, and named the several posts in the army through which he had successively passed. He then called upon the multitude present, even citing many of them by name, and demanded if they could not testify to the truth of what he said.

A great deal of feeling was manifested by his

old comrades in arms, and many among the plebeians shouted out in his behalf. But the Tribune Decius rising up, made a most powerful speech against him, in which he endeavored to show that Coriolanus had, upon a certain occasion, defrauded the soldiers of their booty, and had distributed it among his friends. He called upon many to testify to the fact, and, succeeding in turning the current of popular feeling against Coriolanus, called for the judgment of the people, which was promptly given, and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetual banishment.

The greatest consternation prevailed immediately among the patricians. This feeling was succeeded by rage and indignation; and Valerius was bitterly reproached for having misled them by his artful discourses. Coriolanus, however, with an appearance of the utmost unconcern, left the assembly, went to his house, where he found his wife and mother bathed in tears. Exhorting them to bear with patience this reverse of fortune, he bade them farewell, and refusing to take with him a single attendant, walked out of the gates of Rome, without speaking one word to the many friends who followed in his footsteps.

The people, of course, testified great joy on

He offers his Services to the Volsci.

account of this decided triumph over the Senate. Hitherto dependent upon the patricians, they were now become their judges, and had obtained a right to decide the fate of the greatest in the commonwealth. A terrible triumph for them it was, as we shall presently behold.

After leaving Rome, Coriolanus wandered about, indifferent as to the spot which should offer him an asylum, provided only that he could find the means and opportunities of avenging his wrongs. Looking around for the most powerful enemy of Rome, he finally determined to offer his services to the Volsci, and, if possible, to stir them up to war. This nation, bordering upon Rome, had always opposed it with remarkable courage, but never with much success. The Romans had taken from them, at different times, a great deal of their territory, and they had been compelled, not long before, to sue for a truce of two years, in order to repair their broken strength. Coriolanus himself had, more than once, cut to pieces their troops and ravaged their country; and his name was a terror throughout all their borders. And their very ruler, Tullus Attius, having been beaten by him in several engagements, it seemed the height of madness for him to venture in their midst. But Coriolanus

His appearance at the house of Tullus Attius.

thirsted for revenge, and determined to obtain it in the speediest and most certain manner, or die in the attempt.

Disguising himself, then, he one evening entered Antium, the chief city of the Volsci, and proceeded immediately to the house of Tullus. Entering it without speaking a single word, he took a seat by the domestic hearth—a place sacred in all the houses of ancient paganism. The servants, astonished at such extraordinary conduct, and struck by his majestic air, ran to tell their master. Tullus immediately appeared, and demanded of him who he was, and what he required.

“If thou dost not know me,” he replied, “I am Caius Marcius; my surname is Coriolanus, the only reward left me of all my services. I am banished from Rome by the hatred of the people, and the pusillanimity of the great: I seek revenge: it lies in thy power to employ my sword against my foes and thy country’s. If thy republic will not accept of my services, I give my life into thy hands; put an end to an old enemy, that may else come to do more mischief to thy country.”

Tullus was, of course, in great amazement, but in a moment comprehending all, he stretched to him his hand, and said: “Fear nothing, Mar-

cious, thy confidence is the pledge of thy security. By bringing us thyself, thou givest us more than ever thou didst take from us. And accordingly we shall have care to acknowledge thy services better than thy fellow-citizens. So great a captain may justly expect the greatest honors from the Volsci."

They at once entered into a long conversation, which terminated in forming the following plan for renewing the war with the Romans, which had been suspended by the truce. It was determined, under pretence of a desire to convert the truce into a solid peace between the two nations, that ambassadors should be sent to Rome to demand only this one condition, namely, a restitution of the lands which had been taken from them at different times; a thing which they knew that the Romans would never consent to do.

This plan having been approved by the Volscian Senate, ambassadors were selected and dispatched to Rome, and in the mean time, the most active preparations were made for war. As a matter of course the Senate of Rome refused to restore the territory which they had taken by conquest from the Volsci, and their reply to the ambassadors was, that if the Volsci took arms first, the Romans would lay them

Coriolanus marches against Rome.

down last. A declaration of war followed at once, and Tullus, remaining at home with a large body of troops, sent Coriolanus at the head of the army into the Roman territory. So rapid and unexpected were all his proceedings, that the cities against which he marched had neither time nor courage to defend themselves. The towns of Sarricum, Longulum, Polusca, and Corioli, were taken from the Romans in quick succession; so also were Corbio, Vitellium, Trebia, Labicum, and Pedum. The citizens of Bola, more obstinate than the others, were put to the sword, and the whole country was plundered and devastated. The houses and estates of the patricians, by order of Coriolanus, were, however, spared, a circumstance which greatly inflamed the plebeians.

Such continual success inspired the soldiers of Coriolanus, who, finding no army in the field to oppose his designs, advanced upon Lavinium, took it, and, coming within five miles of Rome, encamped his army.

The consternation at Rome was great indeed. No one had the courage to fight, and no one was found capable of leading. The people ran up and down on all sides, begging that means should be taken to bring about a peace, and they even expressed a wish to annul the sen-

tence passed upon Coriolanus, and to recall him from his exile. The Senate, however, refused to do this, saying, that Rome would never grant any thing to a rebel so long as he remained in arms.

This decision coming to the ears of Coriolanus, he immediately broke up his camp, and marching to the city, prepared to besiege it. At sight of such a daring proceeding, the patricians and the people became still more alarmed. Resolution entirely failed them, and they joined together in sending a deputation to Coriolanus, consisting of five men of consular dignity. But the haughty general would consent to give peace only on condition that Rome should restore to the Volsci the territory which it had taken from them. At the earnest request of the deputies, he granted the city a truce of thirty days, at the end of which time he appeared again at the gates of Rome.

Other deputies were now sent to him, who besought him not to exact any thing which might not be agreeable to the dignity of Rome; but he persisted obstinately in his demand, and threatened the destruction of the city if they did not comply within three days.

Terror now took possession of the Romans, and they appeared willing to do any thing to

Ambassadors sent to Coriolanus.

avert the evil which awaited them. The priests, the augurs, and the guardians of the sacred things, dressed in their ceremonial robes, marched in procession to the camp, and begged Coriolanus by the respect that he owed to the gods, and by all that was sacred in religion, to grant to his country peace. He made to them, however, the same stern reply, adding that, notwithstanding their belief that the gods decreed the empire of the world to Rome, present appearances were much against it, and that he was sure of carrying the town.

The disappointed priests returned, and making known the result of their mission, the men women and children, bathed in tears, flocked to the temples to implore the gods to save their country. Moved by a sort of divine inspiration, a lady named Valeria, accompanied by a great number of women, went to the house of Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, where they found her, as well as his wife, bitterly deploring the misfortunes of Rome.

“We are Roman ladies,” said Valeria, as soon as she came into the presence of the mother of Coriolanus; “we are Roman ladies who have come to beseech you to aid in securing the safety of our common country. Go along with us to the camp of Coriolanus, and beg of

him peace for his fellow-citizens. All our hope is in the tender love which he may have for so good a mother and so virtuous a wife. Implore, conjure, demand him. He cannot withstand your tears; and we with our children will follow you, and cast ourselves at his feet."

The mother of Coriolanus was quite as anxious for the honor and safety of Rome as any of the ladies who surrounded her; but knowing perfectly the character of her son, she felt that it would be useless for her to interpose.

"What success can you expect from our entreaties to a man so implacable?" said she. "Can two women bend that stubborn heart, which the ministers of religion themselves could not soften? And indeed what shall I say to him? What can I reasonably desire of him? Shall I ask him to pardon those who have treated him like a man blackened with the foulest crimes? Shall I ask him to betray a nation that has opened to him an asylum, and preferred him to its most illustrious citizens in the command of its armies? Can a Roman mother and a Roman wife with decency exact from a son and a husband things which must dishonor him before both gods and men? Give us up therefore to our unhappy destiny; leave us buried in our just afflictions."

She goes to the Camp of her Son.

But the mother and wife of Coriolanus being finally overcome by their entreaties, consented to accompany them to the camp, and the approval of the Senate being obtained, they set out upon their mission in chariots provided for the purpose.

The news of their approach was carried to Coriolanus, who, conceiving it to be the last expedient of the Senate, determined to receive them with respect, but to grant none of their requests. Severe and resolute, however, as he was, he could not behold his mother and wife at the head of this troop of Roman ladies without running to embrace them; but the moment they began to entreat him to remove his troops from Rome, all his natural sternness returned, and he declared that he could grant the Romans peace only on the conditions already named.

“And can you, my son,” said the mother, raising her voice, “can you refuse a proposal so equitable, unless you prefer a cruel and obstinate revenge to your mother’s tears and entreaties? Consider that your reply is to decide the fate of my glory, nay, and of my life too!”

Coriolanus made no answer, but on his face any one might see a stern refusal of his mother’s prayer.

“Dost thou believe,” she continued, “that, covered with the shame of a contemptuous denial, I can patiently wait till thy arms have pronounced our doom? A Roman woman knows how to die, when her honor calls her so to do; and if I cannot move thee, I am resolved to give death to myself, here in thy presence. Thou shalt not march to Rome without treading over the body of her to whom thou owest thy being; and if a sight of so much horror has not the power to stop thy fury, remember, at least, that by means of thy endeavoring to bring Rome into chains, thy wife and children cannot avoid a speedy death, or a tedious servitude!”

By this time the appearance of Coriolanus began to change. His hatred and desire of revenge seemed to be yielding to the moving spectacle before him, but still he would not say a word.

“Why dost thou not answer me, my son?” cried again his mother. “Wilt thou not know thy mother? Hast thou forgotten the care I took of thy infancy? Canst thou, who makest war only to revenge thyself of the ingratitude of thy fellow-citizens, deny me the first favor I ever asked thee, without blackening thyself with the very same crime? If I required thee

The Effect of her Prayers and Tears.

to betray the Volsci, who have given thee so generous a reception, thou wouldst have just cause to reject such a proposal. But I only desire thee to withdraw thy troops from Rome; allow us a truce for a year, that in this interval measures may be taken to procure a solid peace. Grant this, my son, I conjure thee by Jupiter, all-good and all-powerful, who presides at the capitol, by the manes of thy father and of thy ancestors! If my prayers and tears are not able to move thee, behold thy mother at thy feet, imploring of thee the preservation of her country!" And bursting into tears, she embraced his knees. His wife and children, and all the Roman ladies, falling down before him, begged him to have mercy upon their beloved city.

"What is it that you do, my mother?" cried Coriolanus, stooping down to raise her from the ground. "Rome is saved, but your son is lost! Farewell, farewell forever!" and then embracing her, and his wife and children, he moved slowly towards his tent.

On the following day he called a council of war, and, no one presuming to contradict his opinion, it was decided that the army should return home to Antium. Without delay the march began; but they had no sooner entered

the gates of the city than the cry was raised that Coriolanus had turned a traitor to the interests of the Volsci. He demanded a trial by a general council of the nation ; but Tullus, the governor, jealous of his exploits, and fearing his eloquence as much as his valor, raised a tumult, and, by means of agents previously instructed, caused him to be stabbed.

Thus fell this remarkable man, though it was evidently without the approbation of the Volsci, for they assembled in great multitudes from the neighboring cities to do him honor at his burial, and upon his tomb they placed garlands and spoils of war.

At Rome the report of his death was received with neither favor nor resentment. The women all went into mourning for him for the space of ten months, the longest period for wearing habiliments of grief.

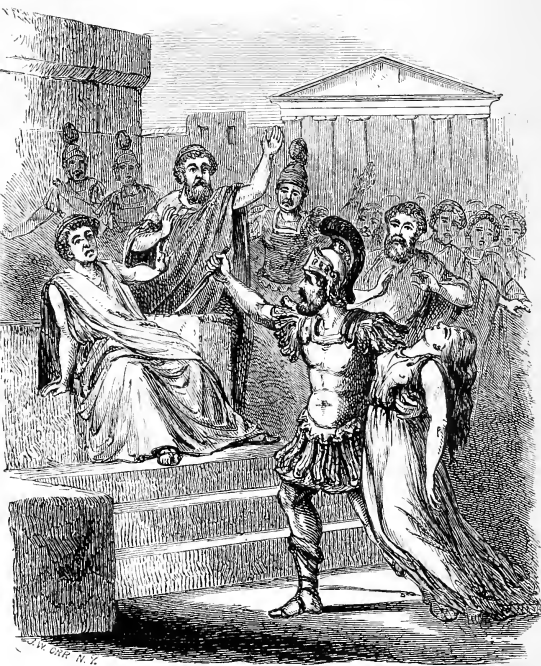
THE DOCUMENT

OF THE

THE DECEMVIRS.

FROM 485 TO 446 B. C.

THE Agrarian Law—Increasing power of the Tribunes—Efforts to pacify the People—Proposition to establish fixed Laws—Conduct of Quintius Ceso—Cincinnatus created Dictator—Commissioners sent to Greece—Decemvirs appointed—Their powers—Appius Claudius—The Ten Tables—Conduct of the Decemvirs—Their Tyranny—War with the Sabines—Defeat of the Romans—Story of Siccus Dentatus—Story of Virginia—The Decemvirate abolished—Death of Appius



DEATH OF VIRGINIA.

V.

: THE DECEMVIRS.

It is not surprising that some ambitious individual should take advantage of the dissensions between the plebeians and the patricians to promote his own selfish ends, and, accordingly, we find one Sp. Cassius Viscellimus endeavoring in this way to obtain the royalty so solemnly proscribed by the law. A patrician by birth, and a consul, he sought, by gaining the affection of the plebeians, to accomplish his designs. To this end he proposed, in order to put the poor citizens upon some equality with the rich, and enable them to subsist, that the lands taken from their enemies in war, and which had been given to the patricians, should be equally divided among the people. And this was the famous *Agrarian law*, which made so much trouble during many following years. This law, of course, met immediate opposition from the patricians, and such was the

expectation of Cassius; but the Tribunes, jealous that a patrician should undertake to rise through the favor of the people, succeeded in bringing about his death.

The subject of dividing the public lands among the people was not, however, forgotten, and a law was obtained from the Senate providing for the appointment of commissioners, who should proceed with the partition of these lands, and set up landmarks, that might put a stop to all usurpations for the future. Still, few were found among those having influence or power who dared to move in the matter, and it remained for a long time unagitated. At length, however, one of the Tribunes, Cn. Genutius, publicly cited the two consuls to nominate the commissioners, and to proceed in the partition of the lands; and so boldly was he sustained by the people in his demands, that the Senate finally fixed a day for the decision of this vexatious matter. But on the night preceding this day, Genutius was found dead in his bed, without the least marks of poison or any other violence. His body was laid out in the Forum, and the report was circulated that the gods, disapproving his enterprise, had put an end to his life. Thus the Agrarian law was again silenced for a long time.

The contest between the plebeians and the patricians continued with little abatement; and the death of Genutius was rather an incentive to activity than a motive to despair. While the consuls every year incurred only the hatred of the people, the Tribunes, studying to gain their applause, aimed at sharing with the Senate and patricians the wealth, the dignities, and the magistracies of the Republic. The power of the Tribunes occasionally rose so high that the consuls fled before them; thus the consul Appius, opposing vehemently the Agrarian law, was so furiously attacked by them, that he went into exile, or, as some historians say, put an end to his life.

There was not however wanting, among the patricians, some who would occasionally, from benevolence or ambition, put themselves at the head of the common people. The desire on the part of the plebeians to have houses and homes was too reasonable and too simple to be resisted; and it would have been strange enough, had no one, either from selfishness or kindness, advocated their cause. During the consulship of Tib. Emilius and Q. Fabius, twenty years after the Agrarian law was first mooted, a strong effort was made to satisfy the people by furnishing them with lands. Eme-

lius stoutly averred that it was impossible to maintain peace and union among the citizens of a free State, unless the lands taken from their enemies were fairly divided between the rich and the poor. He obstinately persisted upon the publication of the Agrarian law, and was ably sustained by some of the older senators; but most of them complained that he was desirous of gaining popularity by distributing property which did not belong to him. Discord was likely to follow, when Fabius, his colleague, proposed that the city of Antium, whose inhabitants had been recently destroyed by war, should be given to the poorer people of Rome. Three citizens were named to make the establishment of this colony; but when the people were called to give their names to these persons, few appeared, so strong was their attachment for Rome, and so little inclination had they to give up its games, its spectacles, its public assemblies, and its business.

At this time Rome had no fixed laws, nor any constant form of administering justice. The will of its kings had been, at first, its law, and the consuls and Senate succeeding to their power, succeeded likewise to the same right of dispensing justice. Not long, then, after the attempt to found a colony at Antium, a certain

Proposition to establish fixed Laws.

Tribune, named Terentillus Arsa, undertook to signalize his tribunate by proposing the establishment of laws fixed and determined, for the Senate to be governed by in the judgments they should pass between man and man. These laws were to be proposed by ten commissioners, half of whom should be patricians and half plebeians. The proposition was met with a great deal of opposition on the part of the Senate and the patricians, and meetings were repeatedly held, but to no purpose. At length, however, the Tribunes determined to bring the matter to an issue, and convened the people for the purpose of naming their commissioners. While the business was in progress, Quintius Ceso, son of Quintius Cincinnatus, a consul, rushed into the crowd, knocked down or dispersed all that were in the way, and by means of the uproar which he raised, broke off the assembly, notwithstanding all that the Tribunes could do to keep them together.

Ceso was much applauded by the senators and patricians, but his conduct was so offensive to the Tribunes that he was summoned to appear before an assembly of the people. His father, Cincinnatus, as well as his friends and relations, did all in their power to save him; but the people were so exasperated by his con-

duct, as well as by the discreditable stories which were related concerning him, that they were determined to condemn Ceso to death. The witnesses, however, by whom they were to condemn him, not being present, it was deemed advisable to commit him to prison until such time as he could be tried; but this proceeding having been discussed, it was agreed that ten citizens should be bound for his forthcoming on the day when he was to be tried, or pay such fine as should be determined upon between the Senate and the Tribunes. Ceso did not, however, dare to appear before the people, but, departing that very night from Rome, went to Tuscany. The fine was exacted with so much rigor from his bondsmen, that his illustrious father, obliged to sell his estates, retired to a few acres of land, which he cultivated with his own hands in order to procure a subsistence.

Not long after this a war broke out between the Romans on the one hand, and the Sabines and the Æqui on the other. The two consuls, at the head of their respective armies, went out to receive the invaders. Nautius, who attacked the Sabines, met with great success; but, while he was pursuing them with a terrible slaughter, his colleague Minutius was pushed into such

Cincinnatus created Dictator.

straits by the Æqui, that it became necessary to dispatch messengers to Rome for relief. It was found indispensable under these circumstances to create a Dictator, and L. Quintius Cincinnatus having been named for this high office, a deputation was sent to bring him from his little farm. Dropping the handle of his plough, he girded on his sword, and at the end of sixteen days succeeded in scattering far and wide the enemies of his country. The Senate, in gratitude for his services, would have bestowed upon him the richest of the spoils of war, but, refusing every thing of the kind, he returned at once to the occupations of his little farm.

But the sympathies of Cincinnatus were with the patricians; he even recommended the increase of the number of the Tribunes, urging that dissensions would thereby be more easily sown among them; and such was undoubtedly true, though the Tribunes seemed more especially eager to ruin the consuls and the nobility. A constant union was, however, maintained between the Tribunes and the plebeians, and for five successive years the same Tribunes were elected and re-elected. The proposition of Terentillus Arsa for a code of fixed law was not forgotten, but was now continually urged

Commissioners sent to Greece.

upon the Senate, who took every means to delay and defeat it. To this end, among other things, it was proposed that three commissioners be sent to Athens, to examine such of the laws of Solon as were most popular among the Greeks, making choice of those most suitable for the present constitution of the Roman Republic. These commissioners were appointed, and during their absence the city was comparatively free from the dissensions which usually prevailed. But they had no sooner returned than the Tribunes and people began to clamor for the appointment of the Decemvirs, who were to be employed upon the great work of fixing a body of laws for the government of the commonwealth. Every effort was made by the consuls to defer the appointment of these persons; and one of them even feigned, for some time, to be sick, in order that he might not be importuned in the matter. By the artfulness, however, of the Tribunes, the appointment of the Decemvirs was finally achieved; but the design of Terentillus was not fully carried out, for five of them should have been chosen from among the plebeians, which was not done. These Decemvirs consisted of Appius Claudius, T. Genutius, L. Sestius, Veturius, C. Julius, A. Manlius, S. Sulpitius, P. Cu-

ratius, T. Romilius, and Sp. Posthumius. The powers conferred upon them were enormous. All other officers were suspended from their functions while the Decemvirate continued; and even the common liberties of the people seemed to be at the disposal of these new magistrates.

Though Appius Claudius was the first one chosen, he assumed no authority above his colleagues, but seemed, on the contrary, to aim at becoming as popular as possible. The meanest plebeian was sure to receive from him a salutation, and all the business intrusted to him was transacted with the utmost promptness.

Each of these Decenvirs presided in his turn one whole day, when he was entitled to the twelve lictors, who walked before him with the fasces. Their manner of dispensing justice was so agreeable to the people, that the Tribunes were almost entirely forgotten; and many prayed that the gods would continue a government so full of moderation.

During the year which succeeded their appointment, the Decenvirs labored faithfully upon the compilation of the laws, which they gathered partly from the ancient decrees of the kings of Rome, and partly from the laws of Greece. Having completed their work, they

proposed it in ten tables, some of them relating to the concerns of religion, others to the public rights, and the greater part to private persons. These laws were submitted to the people, and received their unanimous approbation, though, in the opinion of some persons, several regulations were wanting which, if added, would render the body of the Roman law complete. This opinion becoming very general, it created a desire to make another election of Decemvirs for one year more ; and the Senate glad thus to get rid of the Tribunes, and the people glad to be free from the consuls, the thing was done.

The day was fixed for the election, and among the senators there were, of course, many who aspired to the dignity of the office. Appius, however, pretended that, having labored in it assiduously for a whole year, he was willing that any one should now occupy his place. But when the day arrived, he succeeded not only in procuring his own election, but the election of six other senators least esteemed in the whole body, and what was still more surprising, of three plebeians. Throwing off then the fine mask which he had worn during the previous year, he represented to his colleagues that there was nothing more easy than for them to retain the sovereign power during their

whole lives. To this end he marked out a course of conduct, and established rules, which they all promised with the most solemn oaths to observe.

On the first day upon which these new officers came into power, they appeared in public, each with twelve lictors, who drove the people from the streets before them, striking with terror all whom they met. The greatest indignation of course prevailed, and the citizens complained that, instead of two consuls, they now had ten kings reigning over them. Nor were these complaints confined to the plebeians, but the patricians made them also, although the latter determined to take advantage of the resignation of the Decemvirs whenever it should occur. Many of them, however, left the city.

Agreeably to the haughty manner in which these Decemvirs made their first appearance, they began to reign in the most imperious and despotic way. Bands of wicked men, in hopes of rewards, were always ready to help them in their base designs; and even among the young patricians there were many who, preferring licentiousness to liberty, did not blush to become the servants and accomplices of these terrible men. There was no safety in Rome for beauty and virtue; and the property of honest citizens

— Their Tyranny—Rome threatened from abroad.

was daily plundered, while the unfortunate sufferers were unable to procure the least relief. If any one was bold enough to express his indignation at such a government, these tyrants ordered him to be beaten as a slave; some were even put to death, and confiscation was a common occurrence.

Hope began to spring up in the breasts of the people as the time drew near when the reign of these terrible men should cease according to law. But the year came to a close without any appearance of an assembly of the people for an election. The tyrants, in fact, now boldly proclaimed that they should retain the government, if necessary, by force and violence; and, many of the citizens going into voluntary exile, Rome seemed destined to destruction. Its foreign enemies no longer remained quiet, and even the nations owing it allegiance despised the orders that were sent to them, as if they were unwilling to submit to a people that had lost their own liberty.

The Æqui and the Sabines, ever ready to show their enmity to Rome, raised two large armies and marched against it. The Decemvirs, seeing themselves thus compelled to defend the city, sought the aid of the Senate and people, and, after a great deal of difficulty, ar-

mies were raised and placed under their command. Appius, confiding them to his colleagues, sent them forth against the enemy; whilst he, with a body of troops, remained to maintain his authority against the enemy at home.

It could not be supposed that men who had been shamefully deprived of their liberty, and abused in every imaginable way, would fight well for those who had occasioned all their sufferings; and we accordingly find that the Roman armies engaged in this war, were in a short time completely routed and driven back into their own territory. But the news of the defeat was received at Rome with as much joy, as, at another time, would have been testified at a victory. Every one said that it was not wonderful that the armies of the Republic should be unsuccessful under the command of usurpers; and while some called for consuls, others proposed that a Dictator should be chosen.

Siccus Dentatus, an old plebeian, who had fought in a hundred and twenty battles, went about denouncing in the severest terms the Decemvirs as the cause of this misfortune; and into so much contempt did he throw them, that the soldiers would scarcely give heed to their

commands. The discontent, indeed, became so general, that an open revolt seemed almost inevitable.

But Appius, provided for such an event, sent provisions and recruits to his colleagues, and bid them, at the same time, to punish in the most rigorous manner all those who gave any evidence of mutiny. Resolving also to be revenged upon Siccus, he pretended to have great respect for his experience as a soldier, and engaged him to go and assist the generals with his counsels.

The old soldier, sincerely desiring to serve his country, and unsuspecting of the cunning Decemvir, set out at once for the camp, where, according to previous instructions from Appius, he was received with every appearance of joy and respect. But the secret agents of Appius, contriving to get him out of the camp into a lonely place, fell upon him with their swords. The hero of a hundred and twenty battles was not, however, to be slain without a struggle. Placing his back against a rock, in order to prevent an attack from behind, he defended himself with so much skill that several of them were killed, while others were terribly wounded. The villains, however, bent upon the accomplishment of their purpose, climbed

Appius suspected of causing his Death.

up to the top of the rock, and thence beat him on the head with stones. Then going into the camp, these heartless ruffians said that they had fallen into an ambush, in which Siccus and some of their comrades had been slain. The story was at first believed; but some of the soldiers, who regarded Siccus as a father, went out to seek his corpse. They found it; but they found also that those who were slain with him were all Romans; and what surprised them more was, that none of them had been stripped of their arms or clothes, and that the slain all lay with their faces towards him. Besides this, there were no footsteps indicating the retreat of any who might have been supposed to attack them.

All these things made them suspect that Siccus had been murdered; and it was very natural for them to suppose that the act was committed at the instigation of Appius. This suspicion was confirmed by the fact that when the army demanded the punishment of the assassins, they were nowhere to be found, having been assisted in making their escape. These suspicions were reported at Rome, where the citizens and soldiers, the Senate and the people, all cried out against so infamous a deed. But ere Rome could be free from the yoke of Ap-

Appius attracted by Virginia.

pius, he was to fill up the measure of his tyrannies by a deed still more odious and horrible than the murder of Siccus.

While the armies were engaged in the war, it was the custom of this brutal Decemvir to administer justice in the Forum, where, at stated seasons, he sat to receive those who required his services. From the position which he occupied, he could easily perceive all who passed to and fro, either upon their business or their pleasure; and it is not difficult to admit that his mind was not so completely occupied with the interest of his fellow-citizens, as to prevent his eyes from being sometimes wickedly engaged.

Seated one day in his usual place, he chanced to spy a beautiful girl, of about fifteen years, who, under the charge of an attendant, was passing through the Forum on her way to school. Struck with her appearance, he immediately inquired her name and condition, and ascertained that she was a plebeian; that her father was one Virginius, a centurion in the army then engaged in the war; that her own name was Virginia, and that she was engaged to be married to Icilius, lately one of the Tribunes.

Such a story had little in it to encourage his

Virginia claimed as a Slave by Claudius.

passion; for even if Appius had not been a married man, the laws of the Twelve Tables forbade all alliances between the patricians and the plebeians, and he very soon discovered that Virginia was proof against any dishonest purpose which he might cherish towards her. Determined, however, to get her into his possession, he had recourse to M. Claudius, one of the numerous scoundrels whom he kept in his employ.

This man having one day followed Virginia, discovered the school to which she belonged; and after waiting a short time at the door, entered, and taking the unsuspecting girl by the hand, attempted by force to drag her to his own house, under pretence that she was the daughter of one of his slaves. Overwhelmed with confusion, Virginia could defend herself only by her tears; but the witnesses of the transaction, moved by the sight, ran to her assistance, and put a stop to the proceeding of Claudius. The villain asserted that he meant to use no violence, but simply to take possession of his own property, to which he was certainly entitled, wherever he might find it; and he challenged all those who denied his right, to appear with him before the Decemvir Appius, where he would lead Vir-

Virginia carried before Appius.

ginia, and prove abundantly that she was his slave.

Some of the people, who knew both the girl and her father, and others, moved only by curiosity, followed to the Forum, where Claudius stated his case before a judge who was himself the author of the villany. He said that Virginia had been born in his own house, and that her mother had secretly sold her to the wife of Virginius, who now made her pass for his own daughter. He offered also to produce undeniable testimony of the truth of his assertions, but claimed that until the matter could be decided, it was but just that she should accompany him as her master; and at the same time signified his willingness to give good security for her appearance, if Virginius, at his return, still pretended to be her real father.

Numitorius, her uncle, who had been informed of what had taken place, had by this time reached the Forum. Without much difficulty he discovered the plot that had been laid by the unprincipled Appius; but, concealing his suspicions, he simply claimed that, as the uncle of the girl, he was entitled to her guardianship until the appearance of her father, and asked that the case might be postponed for two days, by which time he thought that Vir-

Attempt of her Uncle to save her.

ginius might be brought from the camp. So just a demand could not fail to gain the approval of the assembly; but Appius declared that, however willing he might be to deliver the girl into the hands of any one claiming to be her father, he could not with justice give her up to a person asserting himself to be her uncle; and that, under the circumstances, he was compelled to place her in the custody of Claudius, who should give security to produce her again at the return of her reputed father.

Such an unjust decree aroused the indignation of the whole assembly, and murmurs and complaints arose on every side. The women who were present gathered around Virginia with tears in their eyes, and declared that she should not be delivered into the hands of Claudius. But this cruel monster, regardless of their entreaties, was attempting to force her away, when Icilius, to whom she was promised in marriage, rushed into the Forum, maddened by the reports which had now reached his ears.

Regardless of all danger, he flung himself into the presence of the haughty Decemvir, and shaking his clenched hand in his very face, cried out—"Thou shalt tear my life from me, before thou shalt enjoy the fruit of thy vile artifices and insupportable tyranny. Is it not

enough that thou hast deprived us of the two strongest bulwarks of our liberty, the protection of our Tribunes, and the right of appeal to the assembly of the people? Cannot the honor of the Roman maidens be safe with thee? Know, tyrant, that Virginia is betrothed to me, and that I expect to marry a virgin, and one free born. If, in the absence of her father, any attempt is allowed to do her violence, I will implore the aid of the Roman people for my wife; Virginius will demand assistance of all his fellow-soldiers for his daughter, and both gods and men will be on our side. But though I had not a man to assist me, justice and virtuous love will give me sufficient power to prevent the execution of thy unjust sentence!"

Such passionate language moved every one in his behalf, and Claudius was driven to take refuge at the feet of Appius. Multitudes of people flocked into the Forum, and the Decemvir, fearing an open revolt, thought fit to revoke his decree and to give Virginia her freedom, on condition that Icilius should give security for her appearance on the morrow.

Without a moment's delay, Appius dispatched a secret messenger to his colleagues who commanded the army, begging them to arrest Virginius, upon some pretence or other,

or at least not to permit him to return to Rome. In this way, he still hoped that he should be able to deliver Virginia into the hands of Claudius. But his messenger reached the camp too late; Virginus had been promptly apprised of his daughter's danger, and had obtained leave of absence from the camp before the arrival of the messengers of Appius. Every effort was, however, made to overtake him, and prevent him from getting back to Rome, but it was all in vain. Prompted by a father's love, he flew as on the wings of the wind, and before the bloodhounds dispatched in pursuit of him had scented his track, he was locked in the arms of his unhappy daughter.

With a bleeding heart he went to the Forum on the following day, leading Virginia by the hand. A crowd of people had already assembled, to whom Icilius was loudly declaiming against the tyranny and baseness of the Decemvir. But the youth, the beauty, and innocence of Virginia moved the multitude more than all the complaints and entreaties of her family; and Appius, hearing of the strong feeling that had been excited against him, ordered a body of troops to be sent to the Forum for his protection. Then repairing thither himself, and taking possession of his tribunal, he

Trial before Appius.

called upon the villain Claudius to open his demand, and to proceed in his action.

Claudius, of course, began by claiming Virginia as his slave, and offered to prove his pretensions by a dozen witnesses. Having permission to produce these witnesses, he brought immediately upon the stand a female slave, who, for a bribe, swore that Virginia was her own daughter, and that she had sold her to the wife of Virginius, who wished to bring her up as her own child.

“If the evidence of this woman is not sufficient,” said Claudius, “I will adduce still further proof; but I hope that justice will not be denied to me on account of the threats of this Icilius, or the clamors of these pretended relatives.”

But the friends of Virginia brought witnesses who had known her from the very moment of her birth, and who had seen her when a babe upon her mother’s bosom. Nothing, indeed, could be made more clear, than the fact that Claudius was a base impostor, and that Virginia was the victim of a foul conspiracy.

Observing the effect produced by the witnesses of Virginius upon the multitude, Appius stopped the proceedings, and addressing the assembly, said: “Be it known to you, O

Romans! that I am not ignorant of the facts connected with this case. It is true, that during the whole life of this maiden, Claudius has not until yesterday claimed her as his slave; but this does not in any wise diminish his right to do so now. Everybody knows that Claudius' father, at his death, left me guardian of his son. Soon afterwards, I was told that, as such, I ought to reclaim this young slave, as part of his succession; and I then heard the evidence which has this day been given in your hearing. Every thing conspired to hinder me in the performance of my duty; but the post I now occupy will not allow me to refuse him the justice which I owe to every man, and I therefore decree that the plaintiff take home the girl as his slave."

Wrought up to the highest pitch of madness by such an unjust sentence, Virginius placed his arm around his child, and turning to the cruel Decemvir, he shouted: "Know, O Ap-pius! I did not educate my daughter for such a hideous wretch as thou! I gave her to Icilius, and thou shalt never call her thine. What! shall it be said of Romans, that they are so degraded as to yield tamely their wives and daughters to beasts like thee?"

A thousand clamors now filled the air; and

Virginius slays his Daughter.

Appius, maddened by the exposure of his crime, and fearing too for the safety of his life, was obliged to order his soldiers and his lictors to drive the people from the Forum.

Virginius, perceiving then that it was impossible for him to save his daughter, begged of Claudius that he would allow him to have a moment's conversation with her in private. The request was granted, on condition that she should not be taken out of the Forum.

Pierced to the heart he clasps the stricken maiden in his arms; he wipes away the tears which bathe her face, and, drawing her closer and closer to his bosom, removes her slowly from the tribunal, as if in search of some quiet place where, undisturbed, he may whisper in her ear. Approaching one of the little shops that opened in the Forum, he spies a butcher's knife. Reaching out his hand he takes it unperceived, and pressing Virginia to his heart with still more tenderness than ever, he exclaims: "My dearest child, this is the only way to save thy honor and thy liberty." With these words he plunges the knife into her bosom, and then drawing it out all reeking with her blood, he rushes to the tribunal of the tyrant, and holding up the knife to the terrified monster, shrieks into his ears: "It is with

Appius driven from the Forum.

this innocent blood, O Appius, that I devote thy head to the infernal gods !”

Loud shrieks now fill the Forum ; and Appius, trembling for his life, calls upon his soldiers to seize Virginius and disarm him. But the brave centurion, brandishing his weapon, bids them all defiance ; and, opening a passage through the crowd, reaches the city gate, and flies directly to the camp.

It was a terrible day for Appius and his brutal colleagues. Crowds of people flocked into the Forum from every part of Rome, and showed by their actions the fullest determination to avenge the death of Virginia. The desperate Appius called upon his guards to seize their leaders ; but the people, now perfectly furious, drove them from the Forum, broke the fasces of the lictors, and chasing the tyrant himself from his tribunal, compelled him to take refuge in a neighboring house.

Virginius having reached the camp, with the bloody knife still in his hand, told the dreadful story to the soldiers. Raised to the highest pitch of madness, his comrades took up their arms, and, in spite of the threats of their generals, marched that very day to Rome. Their arrival in the city changed the tumult to an open rebellion, and, the Senate being con-

vened, all the Decemvirs promised to abdicate their offices, if they might only be saved from the hatred of the people. An interrex was promptly chosen, and L. Valerius and M. Horatius were afterwards named as consuls.

In the course of a few days the excitement somewhat subsided. The people elected their Tribunes; the *Lex Valeria* was confirmed anew, and thus the innocent blood of the unfortunate Virginia, like that of Lucretia, procured the Roman people their liberty a second time. Appius was arraigned before the people to answer for his crimes; but being placed in prison to await his trial, he avoided punishment by taking his own life. His infamous accomplice, Marcus Claudius, was condemned to death. Through the intercession, however, of his powerful friends, Virginius consented that this sentence, though not too severe, should be changed to banishment.

THE DESTRUCTION OF ROME BY THE GAULS.

FROM 446 TO 380 B. C.

THE Siege of Veii—Camillus made Dictator—Taking of Veii—Triumph of Camillus—Accusations brought against him—His Exile—Difficulties with the Gauls—Brennus marches against Rome—Rome abandoned to its Enemies—The City destroyed—Camillus undertakes to punish the Gauls—Bravery of Cominius—Attempt to take the Capitol—Singular Alarm—Fate of the Invaders—Inmates of the Capitol make offers to Brennus—The Gauls driven from Rome—Desolate Appearance of the City—Proposals to forsake it discussed—Determination to rebuild it—Jealousy of M. Manlius—His Imprisonment and Death.

VI.

THE DESTRUCTION OF ROME BY THE GAULS.

AFTER the extinction of the Decemvirate, and the death or expulsion of the Decemvirs, Rome, for a season, enjoyed comparative tranquillity. But it was not long before the old quarrels between the nobility and the people recommenced with almost as much violence as ever. "One would think," said the illustrious Quintius, "that Rome holds within her walls two different nations contending with each other for the command." Encouraged by their numerous triumphs, the people at length began to aspire to offices hitherto held only by the patricians, and demanded also a repeal of the law that prohibited intermarriages between them.

Taking advantage of these continual strifes, the neighboring nations, ever jealous of this powerful city, made incursions upon their ter-

The Siege of Veii.

ritory, and threatened them with evils still greater than they were suffering by their civil contentions. Among the boldest of their enemies were the *Æqui* and the *Volsci*, whose armies came to the very gates of Rome. But they were driven away as often as they made themselves subjects of alarm.

The most insolent and provoking treatment which they received, came, however, from the *Veientes*, who drove away with contempt the ambassadors sent to them to demand reparation. These people, occupying the city of *Veii*, one of the strongest and wealthiest in Italy, were enemies that the Romans might take great pride in subduing; and the flagrant offence recently committed by them, was sufficient to justify the severest proceedings on the part of Rome.

The siege of *Veii* was accordingly resolved upon, and a large army was collected and sent against it. But the place being almost impregnable, it was a long time before the Romans gained any perceptible advantage. Indeed they suffered so much from the sallies made from the city, that they were sometimes on the point of giving it up entirely. It was, however, determined that the military tribunes in command of the Roman forces should be re-

called, and that the conduct of the siege should be committed to M. Furius Camillus, a general of great valor and extraordinary capacity.

That he might have every possible advantage, Camillus was raised to the dignity of Dictator, and the army was greatly and rapidly increased by men of every rank, whom, by the lustre of his name, he drew around him. Marching to Veii he went vigorously to work, with the hope that he might be able to carry the town by assault or open force; but finding that he should not succeed in this way, he had recourse to mining and sapping. By dint of a great deal of labor, his soldiers dug a subterraneous passage, under the walls, to the very centre of the place; and then emerging from the ground, spread themselves throughout the town. The Veientes, wholly unsuspecting of such an attack, and having all their forces near the walls, found themselves suddenly overwhelmed by the enemy. It was in vain for them to resist; and the Roman soldiers, cutting down all whom they found in arms, plundered the city.

The news of this achievement was received at Rome with demonstrations of the greatest joy. The temples were crowded with grateful worshippers, and four days were set apart for a

public thanksgiving to the gods. Camillus himself, returning with his victorious army, entered the city in a stately chariot, drawn by four milk-white horses. Such parade was not wholly agreeable to the people, who had not seen so much pomp since the expulsion of their kings.

A proposition was immediately made by T. Sicinius Dentatus, Tribune of the people, to make a second Rome of the city of Veii, by sending one-half of the Senate, knights, and people to dwell there. But this proposition met with general opposition from the patricians, with Camillus at their head; and when submitted to the decision of the people was promptly rejected.

The kindly feeling of the people towards Camillus was not destined to be of long duration. It seems that this great general, when engaged in the siege of Veii, had vowed that if success attended his arms, he would consecrate the tenth part of the booty to Apollo. But in the confusion of victory he forgot his vow; and his conscience being troubled upon the recollection of it, he sought, through the aid of the Senate, to compel the soldiers to return a tenth part of their booty, in order that he might fulfil his vow. The soldiers, unwilling to give up their

spoils, raised a clamor, and declared that he was leagued with the patricians to keep the people always in indigence. He was even accused of having embezzled, out of the pillage of Veii, certain brass gates that were seen in his house, and was summoned to answer to the charge before an assembly of the people.

Mortified by such an accusation, he appealed to his friends for protection; but being told by them that they could do nothing more than pay the fine that might be imposed upon him, he declared that he would rather banish himself from Rome than answer to such an infamous charge. Going, accordingly, to his house, he embraced his wife and children, and, attended by only two or three friends, went to the gate of the city, where, turning towards the capitol, he prayed the gods that his ungrateful countrymen might quickly repent the outrageous manner in which they had repaid his services; and that their calamities might compel them to recall him. And shortly after this, a misfortune came upon Rome, greater than any which it had hitherto suffered.

About two hundred years previous to this event, the Gauls, one of the most numerous nations of Europe, had migrated in large bodies to Italy, where they established a number of

very powerful settlements. Milan, Verona, and Padua, cities which subsist at the present day, are said to have been founded by them; and at the very time when Camillus was engaged in besieging Veii, these barbarians, as they were called, were endeavoring to strengthen themselves by the acquisition of Tuscany. The city of Clusium, on the very verge of falling into their hands, sought aid from the Romans, who, accordingly, sent three ambassadors to Brennus, leader of the Gauls, with instructions to effect a reconciliation between him and the people of Clusium.

These ambassadors, thinking themselves uncivilly treated by Brennus, went to the city of Clusium, under pretence of conferring with its magistrates, and stirred them up to a vigorous resistance. A report of their proceedings coming to the ears of Brennus, he sent a herald to Rome, who demanded that these ambassadors should be delivered up to him. But the affair being referred to the people, it was resolved that the ambassadors should be sustained in what they had done, and an army was immediately raised to resist the Gauls, if they attempted to attack the city.

Brennus became so enraged on account of these proceedings, that, removing his troops

from Clusium, he marched directly to Rome. The inhabitants of the country fled before him; and the towns and villages in his path were completely deserted. But Rome was the object of his wrath, and he was determined on nothing less than its total destruction. More or less anxiety prevailed, naturally, in the city, at the report of his approach; but with forty thousand troops it was hoped that the invader might be put to flight.

The Roman armies, accordingly, went out to meet the barbarians. They went out boldly, too, headed by their six military tribunes, young men of far greater valor than capacity. Near the river Allia, a half-day's journey from Rome, the hostile armies met. They were, at once, drawn out in battle array. To guard themselves against being surrounded, the Romans extended their wings, placing their veteran troops upon the right and left, and leaving their centre in a very weak condition. The Gauls discovering this, directed their main strength against this feebly defended point, and, breaking through the cohorts that occupied it, made a complete division of the enemy's army. Confounded by such a movement, the Romans, without even drawing their swords, fled in every direction. Some rushed with all

Rome abandoned to its Enemies.

speed into the neighboring city of Veii; others, in hope of escape, plunged into the river Tiber; and a few, too swift-footed for their pursuers, contrived to make their way to Rome, where, of course, they carried terror and consternation. The Senate supposing that the whole army had been cut to pieces, and expecting that the Gauls would immediately effect an entrance into the city, retreated to the capitol, where they collected, for its defence, all the strength remaining in the city. Here, too, they brought whatever provisions they could gather; but the women, children, and all such as were incapable of rendering efficient aid, were excluded and compelled to shelter themselves from the enemy as well as they could. Some took refuge in the neighboring fields, and others fled to the adjacent towns. There were, however, among the old senators and priests, a good many who disdained to take advantage of a shelter which was denied to the weak and helpless, and who were, moreover, determined to sacrifice their lives rather than abandon a city where they had spent all their years. These venerable men, dressing themselves in their priestly and consular robes, and assuming their various emblems of office, seated themselves in the open doors of their respective dwellings, re-

solved to submit to whatever treatment the enemy might give them.

Two or three days, however, elapsed before the Gauls had sufficiently recovered from the rejoicings attending their victory to enable them to proceed to Rome. And when they came, the gates were wide open to receive them, and not an object stirring in the streets. Such an unexpected sight very naturally filled them with suspicion; and passing within the walls, they looked cautiously to the right and to the left, fearing that some plan had been devised by which to bring about their destruction.

Advancing along the once busy streets they gained more confidence; but what was the astonishment of these barbarians as they observed here and there a solitary, gray-bearded man, dressed in costly robes, and seated at the door of his dwelling in a magnificent chair of ivory. The soldiers stopped and gazed in awe upon these venerable figures, who neither spoke nor moved, but, with eyes bent upon the ground, seemed unconscious of the passing crowd. Some approached them to admire their splendid robes and flowing beards, but, apparently, no one dared to touch them. At last one soldier, more curious and more impudent than the others, plucked the beard of one of these venera-

ble men. Raising his ivory wand, he gave the soldier a blow which sent him reeling to a distance. Enraged to the highest pitch, the soldier returned, and with one blow of his axe felled the aged Roman to the ground.

As the army advanced through the streets, the old priests and senators, seated in their chairs, were now slain, one by one; and of all the inhabitants of Rome none were left alive within its walls, except those who were determined to defend the capitol. Thither Brennus hastened with his victorious troops. But in vain did he call upon its tenants to surrender. Nature had provided them with ramparts which bade defiance to his utmost efforts, and, in order to conquer, he was forced to starve his victims in their stronghold. He could, however, revenge himself for their obstinacy, and accordingly turned his soldiers loose to pillage and destroy every thing around them. The fire-brand was applied to the palaces of the patricians and the humbler dwellings of the plebeians. The sacred temples and the public edifices were razed to the ground; and in a short time the great city of Rome, famous throughout all Italy, and lately the terror of surrounding nations, was nothing but a mass of unsightly rubbish. Encamped amid its bro-

ken columns and smouldering ruins was Brennus, with his army, anxiously waiting until famine should terminate his work, by forcing the inmates of the capitol to throw themselves into his power.

But the soldiers of Brennus could not all sit idly around the capitol. By leave of their commander, they wandered in parties, here and there, about the country, preserving neither order nor discipline in any of their proceedings, for, being the masters of Rome, they fancied that the whole region was under their subjection.

Camillus, an exile in Ardea, not far distant, was a silent spectator of what was going on. It is true that he esteemed himself a great sufferer at the hands of his fellow-citizens, but the calamities of his country affected him more than any evils that he had himself endured; and striving nobly to forget his own wrongs, he undertook to redress those of his enemies.

For a warrior of his renown, it was no difficult task to find enough ready to follow where he should lead; and, with the consent of the magistrates of Ardea, he sallied forth one night, with a band of well-armed youth, and surprised a large body of Gauls, who had been recklessly indulging in wine. The slaughter

Camillus undertakes to punish the Gauls.

was terrible indeed, and the appearance of those who escaped only served to inspire the fugitive Romans, lurking here and there, with hope. They started from their hiding-places, and ran together from every quarter, to inquire who it was that had risen up to deliver Rome from her invaders. And when they learned that it was Camillus, their great general, whom they had compelled to go into exile, they began to condemn themselves, and eagerly running to him, proclaimed their penitence, and begged him to lead them on against the Gauls. Camillus told them that he would willingly serve his country, but that he was an exile, and incapacitated from holding the command of his country's armies. But crowding more numerous every moment around him, they would not let him go. Still, he would not consent, until they promised first to send some one to Rome to know whether the capitol yet held out, and, in case it did, to take orders from the Senate, which was shut up within it.

This was a very difficult task to perform, but a young Roman named Pontius Cominius dared to undertake it. He passed through the enemy's ranks, and reaching the Capitoline Hill, clambered from rock to rock, scaling precipice after precipice, and, encountering a thousand

dangers, finally reached the capitol. Without a moment's delay, the Senate, hearing his report, with one voice, declared Camillus Dictator of Rome, and thus the poor exile was raised to the highest dignity of his country. But it was a dignity without any thing to support it. This imprisoned Senate could furnish him with neither money, nor arms, nor troops. To a soldier like Camillus, it was, however, of little consequence. The hero who had captured Veii, when it had withstood for ten years every force that could be brought against it, was able to find soldiers enough who counted it sufficient glory to follow wherever he might lead. They started up from every hill-side, and poured upon him from every city; and ere he could conclude upon any plan for delivering Rome, he found himself at the head of forty thousand soldiers.

In the mean time some of the troops of Brennus, rambling about the Capitoline Hill, discovered among the rocks the footsteps of the daring Pontius. Guessing at once that they might be the means of indicating some passage to the capitol, they traced them until they found out how this hitherto inaccessible place could be reached. These soldiers at once made known their discovery to Brennus, who, forming a plan to surprise the fortress, chose from his army a

number of youths accustomed to mountain life, and sent them out by night to take the place. With great difficulty these bold fellows followed the tracks of the Roman Pontius, lending each other a helping hand, until they arrived at the foot of the wall, which on that side was built very low, because so craggy a place seemed safe from all attack.

Finding the sentinel asleep, these Gauls began to scale the wall, when some geese, consecrated to Juno, awakened by the noise, made a loud cackling; the sound, so unusual at midnight, aroused the suspicions of M. Manlius, a consular person, who immediately ran to the spot to ascertain the cause. It was impossible for him to mistake it, and it was equally impossible for the discovered invaders to retreat. Alone he faces the enemy, who, notwithstanding their number, must fight him at a fearful disadvantage. He cuts off the hand that is lifting a battle-axe to fell him; with his buckler he pushes another to the bottom of the precipice; again and again, he sends another tumbling headlong after, and clamoring as loudly as he can, succeeds at last in raising the garrison. No quarter is now given to the Gauls, who, finding it in vain to fly, are successively thrown into the abyss below.

As soon as the Romans in the capitol found themselves delivered from the great danger that had threatened them, they seized the sentinel who had so carelessly slept upon his post, and hurled him headlong from the rock ; and, at the same time, they rewarded M. Manlius, who by his courage and vigilance had saved them. As the provisions of the garrison were becoming very scarce, each soldier presented him with half a pound of meal and a measure of wine.

It was not long before the Gauls themselves began to experience the inconvenience of scarcity almost as much as those whom they were besieging in the capitol. Hitherto they had procured their provisions by pillaging the surrounding country ; but, through fear of the army of Camillus, they confined themselves more closely to the city, and thus the besiegers were, in turn, themselves besieged. By degrees they began to be fairly in want, and would have been glad enough could they have withdrawn honorably from the walls of Rome.

During this time, the Romans in the capitol did not know that their Dictator, Camillus, was working zealously for their delivery. Distressed by hunger, they resolved to enter into

negotiations with Brennus for the surrender of the capitol; and intrusted their interests to Sulpicius, a military tribune, who agreed with Brennus to give him a thousand pounds weight of gold, if he would immediately withdraw his army from the dominions of the Republic. According to agreement the gold was brought; but upon weighing it the Gauls made use of false balances. Such unfairness caused a murmur among the Romans; but Brennus, instead of redressing the abuse, pulled off his sword and belt, and threw them into the scale, already overcharged. Sulpicius, enraged at such an insult, asked him the meaning of his conduct. "What should it be," replied the barbarian, "but woe to the conquered?"

But Camillus, with his army, advancing with all speed, was now near Rome. Word having been sent to him that a treaty had been formed between the inmates of the capitol and the Gauls, and that the deputies of the former were now in conference with Brennus, he immediately took with him some of his principal officers, and set out in haste for the city. Reaching the place where Sulpicius and Brennus were contending about the gold, he was received with every mark of attention by the Roman deputies. Sulpicius at once made known

to him the unfair dealing of Brennus, and appealed to him for justice.

“Carry back this gold into the capitol,” said Camillus to the deputies; “and you, Gauls, retire with your scales and weights. It is with steel alone that the Romans shall recover their country!”

Confounded by such haughty language, Brennus stood speechless for a moment, while the Gauls and the Roman deputies prepared to do the bidding of Camillus. At length he ventured to protest against the proceedings of Camillus, as a contravention of a treaty already concluded.

“I am Dictator of Rome,” replied Camillus, “and who dares to determine an affair of such importance without my sanction? Away with your gold, your weights and balances!”

Brennus, recovering from his confusion, replied with as much haughtiness as Camillus, and the two chieftains separated, in order to decide their quarrel by an appeal to arms. Without the least delay, the army of Camillus advancing, dashed with fury upon the Gauls, who were promptly drawn out to meet them. Brennus at this time discovered his match in the leader of the Roman legions. His bravest troops fell back, notwithstanding the superiori-

The Gauls driven from Rome—Appearance of the City.

ty of their position. Rallying them as well as he could, he raised the siege, and retreated some miles from Rome. But Camillus was determined to punish him for the injuries sustained by Rome. He followed him in his retreat, slew almost all his soldiers, and recovered from them the rich spoils which they were carrying away.

Although delivered from its enemies, Rome was not, at this time, a place suitable for the accommodation of the many thousands who claimed it as their home. Scarcely a house was standing within its walls, and the walls themselves were, in many places, level with the ground. Under such circumstances, it was not strange that a proposition should be made and urged, to remove, in a mass, to the city of Veii, which was a well-fortified place, with stately buildings, and surrounded by a fruitful territory. The Tribunes advocated the plan with the greatest ardor, representing the difficulty which must attend any attempt to rebuild a city in the midst of such immense heaps of ruins. Besides, the people were exhausted by misfortunes, without strength, without money, and almost without provisions. But the Senate did not agree with the Tribunes, although their opposition was rather in the form of pray-

ers and entreaties. They showed the people the tombs of their ancestors; pointed to the spots consecrated to the gods by Romulus and Numa, and reminded them of the prophecies that Rome should become the mistress of the world. Camillus, too, was among the number of those who opposed the proposition to abandon Rome. "Consider," said he, "that by retiring to Veii, you will assume the name of a conquered people, and lose that of Romans, together with the glorious destiny which the gods have affixed to it, and which, with your name, will go to the first barbarians that shall get possession of the capitol, and who, by this change, may perhaps in time become your masters and your tyrants."

The words of Camillus acted like a charm on all. The prospect of future empire was far to be preferred, by the Romans, to the present conveniences of life. The Tribunes yielded. The people declared that they would not go to Veii; and every one falling to work, the rebuilding of the city went on with such rapidity, that in less than one year it assumed the same appearance which it presented on the arrival of the dreadful Brennus.

But scarcely had Rome thus arisen from its ashes, than its old enemies, the Tuscans, the

Æqui, and the Volsci, leagued together for the purpose of oppressing it. Camillus was again called to the Dictatorship; and, by his consummate ability as a general, succeeded in defeating their armies and compelling them to sue for mercy. In consequence of these and former services he became the idol of the people, who honored him with the title of Restorer of the Country and Second Founder of Rome.

Among the fellow-citizens of Camillus, there was one, however, who was unwilling to yield him all the glory accorded freely by the rest. This was Marcus Manlius, the brave soldier, who, with his single arm, had defended the capitol when about to be surprised by the Gauls at midnight. He could not bear to see Camillus preferred, before him, in the command of the armies; and, by his frequent speeches, he endeavored to blacken the character of a man who was admired and beloved by all. With the design, as was said, of promoting his ambitious aims, he began to flatter the people, and to impress them with the idea that he was friendly to their interests. He renewed the proposals for the division of the lands; he even sold his own to acquit the debts of the oppressed plebeians; he interfered between debtors and creditors, and was frequently instru-

mental in rescuing from prison those whom poverty had sent there. These acts, it was asserted, sprang, not from benevolence, but from selfishness, his whole aim being to secure power through the aid of the lower classes. Whether this was true or not, it is certain that Manlius acquired numerous friends and supporters, who, not contented alone with bestowing upon him their praises, attended him often as a sort of guard.

In time, the patricians began to feel a good deal of uneasiness, and, the influence of Manlius becoming daily stronger and stronger, they deemed it necessary to resort to the usual remedy, which was to create a Dictator. This was done on pretence that the interests of Rome demanded an army to be sent against the Volsci. Cornelius Cossus was chosen Dictator. The Volsci were soon reduced to submission, and the Dictator, returning to Rome, summoned Manlius to appear before him. Manlius obeyed with promptness, attended by a concourse of his friends. Failing to satisfy the Dictator, when charged with engaging in various disorderly practices, he was committed to prison without making any other resistance than an appeal to the deities of the capitol, that they would protect their soldier and defender.

Manlius placed in Prison—His death.

The friends of Manlius, chiefly plebeians, in token of their sorrow, dressed themselves in mourning, and even uttered seditious murmuring. In order to appease them, they were offered lands belonging to one of the newly-conquered towns; but this did not succeed. The prison of Manlius was surrounded, night and day, by crowds of people, eager to effect his liberty; and, in order to prevent mischief, he was at length set free. But the evil practices of which he was accused, were still kept up, with the very designs urged as reasons for his arrest and imprisonment.

Camillus now, for the fifth time, became Dictator; and such a triumph of his rival could not be otherwise than tormenting to a soul like that of Manlius. He did not, of course, fail to testify his feelings; and his proceedings, whether legal or illegal, were sufficiently offensive to the patricians to bring upon him the charge of aspiring after royalty. Once more he was summoned to be tried, and the charges against him having been fully established, he was condemned, as is said, to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock—a spot which was at once the monument of his glory and his shame.

FOREIGN CONQUESTS.

FROM 380 TO 120 B. C.

CARTHAGE and its People—Ship-building among the Romans—First Naval Engagement—Expedition against Carthage—Regulus is taken Prisoner—His noble Conduct—Carthaginians beaten—Peace—The War renewed—Hannibal invades Italy—His March—His Success—Opposed by the Roman Armies—Artifice of Hannibal—Defeat of the Romans—Patriotism of Scipio—The Romans encouraged—Hannibal called Home—Misfortunes of Carthage—Its Fall—Tiberius and Caius Gracchus—Ambition—Agrarian Law—Designs of Tiberius defeated—His Artifice—His Death—Caius and Drusus—Death of Caius.

VII.

FOREIGN CONQUESTS.

It was almost five hundred years before the Romans had so far subdued the nations by which they were surrounded, as to think of spreading their conquests beyond the limits of Italy. But they no sooner felt themselves to be perfect masters of the countries near them, than they determined to carry their arms beyond the sea; and the first foreign war which they undertook was with Carthage, a rich and powerful city, on the coast of Africa.

The foundation of Carthage was laid about a hundred and thirty-seven years before that of Rome. All its citizens were merchants, and traffic was esteemed among them far above the profession of arms. The fleets of Carthage were, however, among the most powerful in the world, and no one doubted her superiority upon the sea, over which she had extended her dominion, quite to the coasts of Spain, and in the

The Romans engage in Ship-building.

islands of Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia. But the conquests of Carthage were effected, chiefly, by the aid of foreign troops, and, in some cases, even under the command of hired generals. Rome, on the other hand, reared her own militia, and her officers were taken from among those who had been brought up to fight her battles.

A great sea lay between Rome and Carthage, and Rome had not a single ship to launch upon it, nor had she a single sailor or naval captain among all her legions. But her people were ingenious, diligent, and never discouraged by the greatest labors. When they had formed the resolution to gather glory and wealth beyond the waves, it was not long before they found the means of carrying this resolution into effect. Hitherto they had never paid the least attention to the construction of the vessels that accidentally, or otherwise, visited their coasts; but now, a Carthaginian galley having been driven to them by stress of weather, they seized upon it eagerly, and taking it for a model, built, within two months, a fleet sufficiently powerful to commence their enterprise against the great city, whose dominion upon the sea it was their intention to dispute. Their first naval engagement was successful, too; and

their first naval commander, in honor of his achievements, was ever attended at night, during the remainder of his life, with flambeaux and music.

Encouraged by their early success, they increased, rapidly, their fleets, and spreading them over the sea, made themselves the masters of Agrigentum, and of the chief towns in that island; they took Aleria, the capital of Corsica, Olbia in Sardinia, and, finally, carried their victorious arms to the very gates of Carthage.

L. Manlius and Attilius Regulus commanded the first fleet that was sent to Carthage. It consisted of three hundred and forty ships, with a hundred and forty thousand troops. But before they reached their destination, the Carthaginians met them on the sea, with an equal armament. The struggle was a long and desperate one, the Carthaginians having the advantage of lighter vessels and better sailors. Fortune seemed uncertain where to choose; but the Roman vessels finally grappling with those of the Carthaginians, the fighting began foot to foot, and, as it were, on dry land. Then it was that the Romans got the better of their enemies. They fought like madmen, determined to conquer or to die. The Carthagin-

Expedition against Carthage.

ians were slaughtered by hundreds and thousands. The sea was perfectly red with blood, and the bodies of the dead floated far and wide on every hand. Ship after ship was disabled and sunk, until the whole Carthaginian fleet was completely scattered.

The Romans obtaining, in this way, a free passage to the coast of Africa, succeeded in landing, and immediately began to ravage the country in a most terrible manner. In a short time Manlius sailed back to Italy, with twenty-seven thousand prisoners, while Regulus, according to the instructions of the Senate, continued his conquests. Success attended him wherever he went, until finally he brought his army to the walls of Carthage. By this time the city was crowded to overflowing by the terrified inhabitants of the surrounding country, who had fled thither for protection; and Regulus had not been long about the walls with his besieging army, before the Carthaginians began to experience all the terrors of famine and sickness.

The Carthaginians, relying but little upon their ability to cope with an enemy that had thus far beaten them by sea and land, were very desirous of entering into negotiations; and Regulus himself, contented with his vic-

tories, was not averse to it. But as he held Carthage completely in his power, he felt that he had a right to impose upon them such terms as he pleased, and accordingly agreed to remove his army on condition that the Carthaginians should deliver up to Rome the islands of Sicily and Sardinia, give liberty to all the prisoners that they had taken, defray the expenses of the war, pay an annual tribute, never undertake a war without the consent of the Senate, keep but one large ship in their navy, and furnish fifty galleys, completely equipped, whenever the interest of Rome might require them.

These terms imposed by the Romans were considered very hard by their enemies, but Regulus, who thought himself master of the country, replied—"That enemies must either conquer, or submit to the law of the conqueror." This rendered the Carthaginians desperate; and accordingly, mustering all their forces, and marching out into the open field, under the command of Xantippus, a Lacedæmonian general, they offered battle to the Romans. Their position was admirably chosen, while that of the Romans was not. But the Romans, having been hitherto successful, began to despise their foes, and rushed upon

Regulus, the Roman General, taken Prisoner.

them with deafening shouts. The Carthaginians maintained their ground like men determined to conquer or to die; and in a short time, by means of their elephants and cavalry, succeeded in putting the Romans to flight, with a loss of thirty thousand men. Regulus, their general, was taken prisoner, and being loaded with chains, was carried to Carthage and confined in a gloomy dungeon.

The war between these two nations was still continued with the same animosity, Rome filling the seas with her navies, and pouring into Africa her countless soldiers. Success sometimes attended one side, and sometimes the other; but the Carthaginians having finally lost a number of battles, took Regulus from his prison and sent him to Rome to solicit a peace, or, at least, an exchange of prisoners. Before going, however, he was compelled to make a promise, that he would return to Carthage if he failed in his mission, and was moreover told that his life depended upon his success.

The joy of the Senate at having thus an opportunity to liberate their brave and faithful general was very great, and they would have willingly testified their regard for him by buying his freedom at any price. But Regulus labored earnestly against his own interest, and

The Carthaginians beaten—Peace.

succeeded in persuading his fellow-countrymen to continue the war. Then, without entering his house, or seeing his wife and children, lest he should be softened by their tears, he returned to Carthage, according to his promise, where he perished in the most cruel torments.

After a great deal of fighting, the Romans finally gained such advantage over the Carthaginians that the latter were obliged once more to sue for peace, which was granted, upon the hardest conditions. They were compelled to abandon the island of Sicily, to restore all prisoners without ransom, to give up all deserters, to pay down a thousand talents for the charge of the war, and two thousand two hundred in two years by way of tribute. The Carthaginians, however, were glad to obtain peace even upon such severe terms; but it was not so much peace, that they desired, as a truce. They had suffered terribly, and needed time to repair their forces. As soon, then, as they found themselves in a condition to fight, they took up arms with even greater fury than before.

The famous Hannibal was, no doubt, the cause of this second war, memorable for some of the most daring exploits that are found recorded upon the page of history. When this great Carthaginian general was only nine years

of age he accompanied his father in the war against Spain, and at that time swore, at the altar, eternal hatred to the Romans. Faithful to this early vow, he took the first opportunity to bring about a violation of the treaties existing between Carthage and Rome; and as soon as war was declared on the part of Rome, he set out for Italy with an army of ninety thousand foot soldiers, forty elephants, and twelve thousand cavalry. With this immense army, he traversed Gaul in the depth of winter. His passage across the Alps was accomplished in nine days, but this desperate journey was performed at the expense of six thousand horsemen and seventy thousand footmen, who perished from the hardships which they were forced to undergo. Capturing Turin, he supplied his needy troops with provisions, and encouraged the people of Cisalpine Gaul to join his standard. With all speed he then set out for Rome; but the army of that Republic, under the conduct of Cornelius Scipio, advanced in the mean time to resist him, and on the banks of the river Ticinus they met. The battle was bloody, but the day was decided by a charge of the Numidian horse, which left Hannibal master of the field. The life of the Roman general was saved by his son Publius

Scipio, who afterwards gained so much distinction in the war with the Carthaginians.

A second army, under the command of Tiberius Sempronius, was now sent against Hannibal, but with no better success—the Romans losing their camp, and twenty-six thousand men. By this time, Hannibal was willing to give his army rest, and accordingly he retired into winter quarters. But the Romans, meanwhile, were not idle. Their empire in Italy was seriously threatened, and whatever they could do to repel the successful invader must be done promptly and vigorously. Two large armies were therefore raised, and fully equipped for the ensuing campaign. These were sent to the passes of the Apennines; but Hannibal, determining to encounter only one of them at a time, crossed the mountains, and traversed the Clusian Marsh. For four days and nights his army marched through water; and he himself, mounted on the only remaining elephant, barely saved his own life, and lost an eye in consequence of an inflammation. As soon as he found a solid footing, he sought to engage in battle the army under Flaminius. He laid waste with fire and sword the whole country around him, and pretended that he was about marching upon the city of Rome. Flaminius,

Artifice of Hannibal.

induced to keep nearer to him than was prudent, was suddenly attacked, upon the borders of the Lake Thrasymentus, and his army was completely cut to pieces before he could display his colors. Hannibal now marched into Apulia, spreading terror wherever he went. Meanwhile another army, under the command of Fabius Maximus, was sent out to oppose him. With this general, Hannibal experienced more trouble than with those whom he had been hitherto obliged to encounter. Fabius almost equalled him in the use of stratagem, and so completely baffled him in his designs, that he scarcely knew what to do. But Hannibal outwitted him at last. Finding himself suddenly shut between impassable rocks and marshes, he collected a thousand oxen, and fastening burning torches to their horns, drove them furiously, at midnight, into the defiles which were guarded by the Romans. Panic-struck, by the terrible sight, the guards fled from their posts, and Hannibal forced his way through the Roman ranks.

Delay was disastrous to the Carthaginians, whenever a Roman army was hovering around them. Their dependence for support was upon the territory in which they happened to be located; and it was necessary for them to meet

Defeat of the Romans—They recover.

opposition with the utmost promptness. Being now in possession of Cannæ, they used every effort to bring the Romans to an engagement, but for a time were unsuccessful. It was finally brought about, and the Roman army was totally destroyed. Rome lost, as is said, fifty thousand men; and the conqueror sent to Carthage two bushels of gold rings, to show the incredible number of Roman knights that had fallen in the battle. It is quite probable that Hannibal would have made himself master of the city without striking a blow, if he had at this time marched his victorious army directly to Rome. Acting, however, as if he feared to put an end to the war too soon, he lingered in Campania, under pretence that his troops needed some repose. This gave the Romans time to recover from their consternation, and to take steps for preserving themselves from total destruction. It was to the young Scipio that they were mainly indebted for this success.

After the battle of Cannæ, he, with a number of other officers, retired to a neighboring town, which still held for the Romans, and while occupied at the house of a friend was informed that these officers, in despair of saving the Republic, had assembled at a certain place for the purpose of making arrangements to abandon

Conduct of Scipio—The Romans encouraged.

Italy. Extremely indignant at such conduct, he repaired immediately to the assembly, and entering with his drawn sword in hand, he cried out: "I swear that I will never abandon the Republic, nor suffer any of her citizens to do it. Whoever here shall refuse to take this oath which I have taken, shall perish beneath my sword!"

Ashamed of their conduct, and willing to do any thing to atone for it, they took the oath prescribed by Scipio. Some repaired to Rome, and others undertook to rally the allies, so that hope began to spring up in the bosoms of the people. Every effort was made to repel Hannibal. The citizens armed their slaves. They gave their silver and their gold. They took down from the roofs of the temples the old arms that had been hung up there as trophies, and gave them to the troops. Q. Fabius Maximus, leader of the Roman army at home, by all sorts of artifice and delays, foiled the Carthaginian general at every step. Scipio, too, at the head of the Roman army in Africa, was gaining battle after battle, and daily threatening the destruction of Carthage. He had there gained, as allies, the two powerful kings, Syphax and Masinissa; and so great was his success, that the Carthaginians were compelled to

call Hannibal home to defend his own country. These two great generals met near Zama, with the full knowledge that the battle about to be fought between them, would decide the empire and the liberty of their respective countries. The soldiers knew, too, how much depended on their spirit and courage. Success, under such circumstances, was for a long time doubtful, but victory at last declared for Scipio. Twenty thousand Carthaginians fell upon the field, and an equal number were taken prisoners.

It was now impossible for Carthage to make any further resistance to Rome. Peace must be obtained at almost any price, and even the proud Hannibal himself was obliged to sue for it. But the Romans would not grant it except on the hardest terms. They compelled the Carthaginians to give up all their fleets, and their elephants; they forced them to restore all their prisoners, and to deliver up all deserters; they made them pay immense sums of money; forbid them to make alliances with other nations, or to engage in war, without the knowledge and express permission of the Roman Senate.

The deplorable condition of Carthage was rendered even more deplorable through the implacable hatred of Masinissa, king of Nu-

midia. Protected by Rome, this old enemy deprived the Carthaginians of the best part of their possessions, and destroyed their trade in the interior of Africa. But, more than all this, the Romans, seeing them so enfeebled, and still remembering the injuries sustained at their hands in the battles of Thrasymenus and Cannæ, resolved upon their total destruction. And now the third war with Carthage began, but it was not of so long duration as the two preceding. That stately city, which had presumed to dispute the empire of the world with Rome, fell, and its inhabitants were scattered among the different nations of the earth.

And now Rome, elevated to the highest pitch by such a triumph, aspired to the conquest of the whole earth. Their military leaders and their armies marched forth in every direction. The great Antiochus, who ruled over the larger part of Asia, was driven by them from his possessions. They conquered the Insubrians and the Ligurians. They reduced Macedon as well as Illyrium into provinces. The Greeks, too, fell under their dominion. In one word, all Italy, Spain, Illyrium quite to the Danube, Africa, Greece, Thrace, Macedon, Syria, all the kingdoms of Asia Minor, became members of the Roman Empire ;

and the name of Rome struck terror and respect among all the nations of the earth.

With so much success, came the greatest luxury; and the manners of the Romans suffered so much change by their good fortune, that they seemed altogether another people. The uprightness for which they had been held in such esteem, became corrupted by the pleasure of conquest and dominion. Ambition, rather than justice, governed their undertakings; selfishness succeeded the care formerly manifested for the public good; and patriotism almost ceased to exist among them.

In this state of things arose Tiberius Gracchus and Caius Gracchus, names too familiar in Roman history to be numbered with those which can be mentioned only where the greatest minuteness is to be observed. These brothers were grandchildren of the great Scipio, and their sister marrying the younger Scipio, they were thus related to the most powerful families in the Republic. Their mother, Cornelia, bestowed upon them a most excellent education. She, one day, being in the company of a Roman lady who was displaying her jewels, was asked to exhibit hers. Sending at once for her two sons, she pointed to them and exclaimed: "These are my jewels."

Ambition of Tiberius fostered by his Mother.

Tiberius, the elder, was endowed by nature with all those graces which serve as a recommendation to merit. He was also noted for his moderation, frugality, and public spirit; and, at an early age, had made himself conspicuous in the military service. Under the command of his brother-in-law, Scipio, he assisted at the siege of Carthage, and was the first man who mounted the walls of the burning city. At the age of thirty he was considered one of the best orators of Rome; but those who were jealous of his rising merit insinuated that he possessed inordinate ambition, an implacable hatred against the Senate, and a pretended zeal for the interests of the people.

His mother, Cornelia, is reported to have encouraged his ambition by saying that people spoke of her as the mother-in-law of Scipio, and not as the mother of the Gracchi. "Your brother-in-law, Scipio," she continually said, "stands in the first rank among the captains and generals of the Republic; make, now, your own name distinguished by the establishment of laws useful to the people."

Whether at the solicitation of his mother or not, it is quite certain that he offered himself as a candidate for the tribuneship of the people, and he was duly invested with this office.

The Agrarian Law.

His attention had been, doubtless, called to the poverty of the lower classes; and the successful application of a remedy would certainly place his name as conspicuously before the world as that of his illustrious brother-in-law, Scipio. He undertook the task, but, like most reformers and servants of the people, whether selfish or unselfish, he reaped, in the end, sorrow and shame.

Two hundred and thirty-two years had now passed since the enactment of the Agrarian law, by which it was declared that no person should possess more than five hundred acres of the public domain, and that the overplus should be divided among the plebeians. This law had ever remained a dead letter, and Tiberius knew that its revival would only meet with the strongest opposition from the higher classes. But he managed to bring it up, with several softening clauses. He provided that the possessors of surplus lands should receive compensation for the buildings and other improvements erected on them; that every son who was of age might possess the whole quantity allowed by law to a citizen and householder; and that every son under age might possess half that quantity.

But the nobles and rich citizens of Rome re-

Designs of Tiberius defeated.

jected the propositions of Tiberius with contempt, and stigmatized him as a promoter of sedition and a disturber of the public peace; and to counteract his plans, they gained over one of the Tribunes of the people, Marcus Octavius, without whose consent it would be impossible to enact the modified law. According to custom, however, Tiberius exposed his law nineteen days to the view of the people, and then proceeded to take their votes upon it. But Octavius interposed with his veto, and the whole undertaking seemed thus, at once, to be defeated.

Tiberius was not, however, to be so easily thwarted in his designs; and while the great men of Rome were triumphing over his defeat, he was taking measures to put a speedy termination to their joy.

At the next assembly of the people he arose and thus addressed them: "Since custom will not allow a Tribune to propose any new law, if but one of his colleagues forbids it, it is but justice that I should submit to the opposition of Octavius. But then as the tribuneship was created with a view to the redressing of the people's grievances, and as that Tribune, who forsakes this view, destroys the very foundation of this institution, I demand that the people, by

plurality of voices, decide which of the two, Octavius or I, acts most contrary to their interests; and that he who is judged to have failed in his duty, and to have abused his privilege of opposition, be immediately deposed."

This proposition of Tiberius was at once unanimously approved; and the vote being taken without delay, Octavius was excluded from the tribuneship. Thus, every obstacle to the law being removed, it was revived, and three commissioners, or triumvirs, were chosen to attend to the division of the lands. But the difficulties attending this, now appeared in their full light. Complaints of the bitterest kind proceeded from every part of Italy, and Tiberius began to find his enemies daily increasing around him. Endeavoring to regain the favor of the people, he occupied himself in devising new plans for promoting their interest; but so zealously did the patricians labor against him, that, when the day for electing the Tribunes of the following year arrived, it was found impossible to hold any election at all. And on the next day, such a noisy multitude beset the Forum, that Tiberius strove in vain to raise his voice among them.

Alarmed for his own safety, the Tribune beckoned to his nearest friends, and, wishing

Death of Tiberius.

to intimate to them that his life was in danger, he touched his head with the end of his finger. "He wishes a crown!" shouted his enemies. "Whoever loves the Republic, let him follow me!" cried his own kinsman, Scipio Nasica; and at the head of his followers he made an onset upon Tiberius and his friends. A great tumult ensued. The friends of Tiberius, terrified, abandoned him. They ran in every direction; and Tiberius himself, flinging away his robes of office, darted from his tribunal, and ran to save his life. He fell, however, in his flight, and, at the same time receiving a blow upon the head from some one near, never again arose to his feet. With him three hundred of his friends and adherents were slain and flung into the Tiber.

The Agrarian, or Sempronian, law was in nowise affected by the death of Tiberius. It still continued in full force, and ceased not to be the source of fresh commotions. One of the very commissioners appointed to execute it, was chosen to fill the place of the murdered Tiberius; and, for several years, Rome was the theatre of ceaseless struggles between the patricians and plebeians. Caius Gracchus, brother of Tiberius, came to the tribuneship ten years afterwards. With a desire of revenge,

he omitted no opportunity to gain the favor of the plebeians, as well as to arouse them against the patricians. Many of his brother's enemies were, through his instrumentality, expelled from the city; and the execution of the hateful law was earnestly attempted. Such was his success in operating upon the people, that he was chosen Tribune for a second year. But the Senate found the means of withdrawing the favor of the people from Caius. Their instrument was his colleague, Livius Drusus, who, by means of making still greater promises to them than were made by Caius, succeeded in winning their approbation. When, therefore, a third election for Tribunes took place, Caius was defeated, and Opimius, one of his bitterest enemies, was chosen to the consulate.

Soon after his elevation to office, Opimius sought to repeal the laws made by Caius: in consequence of which a great tumult arose in the city. Thousands of people armed themselves upon different sides; and the streets of Rome once more flowed with the blood of its citizens. No less than three thousand were slain. The head of Caius was cut off, and carried about upon the end of a spear; and his body, like that of his brother, Tiberius, was thrown into the river Tiber.

THE SECRET HISTORY

OF THE

THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

FROM 120 TO 102 B. C.

EARLY Education of Jugurtha—He forms Plans to obtain the Throne of Numidia—Is adopted by the King, his Uncle—Death of Hiempsal, his adopted Brother—Civil War in Numidia—Commissioners sent thither from Rome—Jugurtha's manner of satisfying them—Civil War continued—His adopted brother, Adherbal, appeals to Rome—Murder of Adherbal—Rome makes War against Jugurtha—The Roman General bribed by him—Indignation of the People—Jugurtha goes to Rome—Another Roman Army sent against him—Its Defeat—Partial Defeat of Jugurtha—Caius Marius becomes Consul and takes command in Numidia—Final Overthrow of Jugurtha—His Delivery to Sylla—His Death.

VIII.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

THE loss of the Gracchi was very deeply felt by the people of Rome ; and an affair of less moment than that of Jugurtha, would have scarcely brought them out of the dejection and consternation into which this loss had thrown them.

During the war against the Carthaginians, the Roman general, Scipio, had formed a friendship with Masinissa, a famous African prince. This prince rendered him such valuable services in his campaigns, that the Romans bestowed upon him the kingdom of Numidia, which at his death he left to Micipsa, who succeeded him. Micipsa had two sons, the elder named Adherbal and the younger Hiempsal. Besides these, he had a nephew named Jugurtha, who being a promising youth, and without protectors, was taken into the family of Micipsa, and

educated with his sons, although he was considerably older than they.

Nothing could be more satisfactory to a parent or guardian than were the early conduct and progress of Jugurtha. His masters all praised him for his diligence, and prophesied that he would be a prodigy of learning. In drawing the bow, managing a horse, and in all kinds of athletic exercises, he was surpassed by no one; and it is said that his boldness in the chase was only equalled by the modesty with which he received the praises bestowed upon his difficult achievements.

Young Jugurtha soon became one of the ornaments of the court of Numidia; and the king, his uncle, looked upon him with pride and pleasure. But as the young prince grew older, it became very evident that he possessed an inordinate ambition, guided by an artful, insinuating, dextrous, and deceitful genius. The discovery of this filled the king with anxiety, for he, himself, was now becoming old, and his two sons were not of sufficient age or ability to oppose artifice, such as he began to fear that Jugurtha might use against them. It seemed plain enough, that he had nourished in his bosom a viper that would eventually turn and sting him.

The love which he bore to his own offspring prompted him, at once, to get rid of Jugurtha; and the least objectionable manner of accomplishing this seemed to be, by sending the ambitious youth to the war. He placed him, accordingly, at the head of a body of troops which he offered to Scipio Æmilianus, who was then besieging Numantia, in Spain. Jugurtha was not, however, destined to be slain in war, and he entered it as if he felt the assurance that this was so. His surprising acts of valor won for him universal admiration; and he made himself especially pleasing to his own officers and soldiers by his winning manners, and his continual favors and presents. Not forgetting the importance of securing the principal men under his command, he omitted nothing which could bind them to his interests. And even before the conclusion of the campaign they intimated to him that he would have little difficulty in placing himself upon the throne of Numidia.

Returning to his own country covered with the glory which he had acquired in the army, and also bearing a letter from the Roman general, in which his valor and his services were commended in the highest terms, he could not fail to lay a good foundation for his plans. Friends flocked to him from every quarter,

even from among the ministers of the kingdom; and those who did not come voluntarily, he managed to gain by promises and presents. Without a great deal of difficulty, he contrived to have it intimated to the old king that he could not do a wiser thing than to adopt him as his son, in order to give his younger children a guardian, and the State a protector. The king, ready to drop into his grave, listened to the hint, and in hopes that Jugurtha would at least be grateful, adopted him in a public manner, beseeching him earnestly, at the same time, to have a tender regard for the interests of his younger brothers.

But the projects of Jugurtha did not admit of any display of gratitude; and every thing like a tender regard for his younger brothers would have been equally injurious to them. The death of the old king was only a signal for the execution of these plans, and the event showed how admirably they had all been laid. Numidia was divided into three equal principalities, at the head of which were three sovereigns, possessing equal power, and all under the protection of the Romans. To be the sole master of Numidia was the aim of Jugurtha, and it was no great trial of his conscience to rid himself of the two young princes,

his adopted brothers. By the aid of assassins, whom it was easy enough for him to hire, he caused the younger to be stabbed at night, while sleeping in his bed.

Adherbal, the elder brother, terrified by such a wicked act, fled to that portion of the kingdom over which he had been appointed ruler; and immediately proceeded to raise troops to defend himself against the designs of his brutal kinsman. The whole nation now became divided, some declaring themselves in favor of one prince, and some in favor of the other. A bloody civil war ensued, during which many of the towns of Numidia were destroyed, and thousands of its inhabitants were put to the sword. Success generally attended the arms of Jugurtha, and Adherbal finally suffering a complete defeat, was obliged to fly for safety in disguise. Wandering for some time about his native land, he managed, at last, to make his escape to Rome.

The arrival here of a young prince, thus persecuted and driven from his country by an ambitious and blood-thirsty brother, could not fail to arouse the indignation of the Roman people. The whole city was thrown into excitement, and every one declared that nothing less could be done than to send an army into Africa to

punish the base Jugurtha. But the base, and, at the same time, cunning Jugurtha, sent ambassadors to Rome to justify his barbarous conduct. And these ambassadors being loaded with immense sums of money, found it no very difficult task to convince the Senate and grantees of Rome that he was not, after all, such an abominable wretch as, at first sight, he might appear. The outcries of the people were hushed, and ten commissioners were sent into Numidia to effect a reconciliation between Jugurtha and Adherbal.

These commissioners, on their arrival, found Jugurtha to be one of the most hospitable and generous of mortals. He provided them with every thing that they could wish, and neglected not to bestow upon them gold and silver to their heart's content. In turn they pronounced him an excellent and much abused man; and in settling the difficulty between him and Adherbal, contrived to give him the strongest cities and richest provinces, as a token of their great regard for the untold wealth which he evidently possessed.

Having rid himself of these commissioners, Jugurtha began, at once, to prosecute his designs against Adherbal. In order, however, to have some little show of justice on his side, he

tried to provoke him to resentment, by committing small depredations upon his frontiers. But Adherbal took no notice of these things, and Jugurtha finally entered his dominions at the head of a large army, and made himself master of most of his cities and provinces. There was now no other course for Adherbal—he must either fight or deliver himself up to his blood-thirsty enemy; and, accordingly, he levied a great army, at the head of which he undertook to drive Jugurtha from his kingdom. But Jugurtha, vastly his superior in the art of war, attacked him upon all sides, destroyed his troops, and endeavored to take possession of his person. Adherbal, however, made good his escape to Cirta, the capital of his dominions.

To Cirta, also, Jugurtha hastened, determined upon Adherbal's death. He besieged the town; he used every effort to obtain an entrance, and even swore that he would not leave its walls until his enemy was within his grasp. So desperate, at last, became the position of the poor persecuted prince, that he was obliged to dispatch messengers to Rome, to beg the people there to interfere and save his life. To Rome, however, Jugurtha had also hastened messengers, in the form of bags of gold; and these, placed in the hands of his emissaries there,

Adherbal's difficulty in obtaining Aid from Rome.

contended with great effect against the messengers of Adherbal. The Romans scarcely knew which to choose, but finally the gold prevailed, and they contented themselves with sending three commissioners into Africa, who were instructed to make peace, if possible, between the two Numidian princes.

But Jugurtha's gold succeeded in sending back these commissioners, soon after their arrival; and his gold, also, prompted them to report in Rome that the affairs of Numidia were never in a more prosperous condition. Meanwhile, Adherbal, driven to extremity, wrote a long account of his condition to the Roman Senate, informing them how Jugurtha had bribed their commissioners, and imploring them, in the name of Masinissa, his grandfather, to save at least his life. "Dispose, as you please, of the kingdom of Numidia, but suffer me not to fall in the hands of a tyrant, and of the murderer of my family," said he.

There were some honest men in the Senate, who had not been corrupted by the gold of Jugurtha, and who were of opinion that an army should be sent immediately into Africa to raise the siege of Cirta, and to punish this wicked man. But the number of these honest men was not great enough to prevail; and

Adherbal's murder—An Army sent into Numidia.

nothing more was done than to send commissioners again into Numidia. Like those who had been sent before, they were easily seduced by the cunning Jugurtha, who bribed them to believe that his brother, Adherbal, had attempted to destroy him, and that it was only in self-defence that he had taken up arms against him.

With this report the commissioners returned to Rome; and Jugurtha, once more allowed to continue his persecution of Adherbal, pushed the siege of Cirta with so much vigor, that it was obliged to yield, and Adherbal fell into his hands. The poor prince demanded no other conditions but the preservation of his life, which Jugurtha promised him in the most solemn terms; but no sooner had he entered the city, than he slaughtered all the Numidians, and put Adherbal to death by the most cruel tortures.

The news of such an outrage could not be circulated in Rome without exciting universal indignation. Those Senators who had suffered themselves to be bribed by the infamous Jugurtha, beginning to fear now that they might be accused as accessories to his crime, consented to have an army sent into Africa to punish him as he deserved. The command of this army was given to L. Bestia Calpurnius, a man

War made upon Jugurtha.

of sordid avarice, and to whom war was merely a trade, by which to fill his coffers with gold. At his own solicitation he was furnished with officers whom he knew to be no better than himself; and by whose assistance, doubtless, he hoped to reap a golden harvest.

Before, however, the army was ready to set out from Rome, Jugurtha, informed of what was going on, sent thither an embassy plentifully provided with money. But he was mistaken upon this occasion. It was impossible for the Senate to suffer his offences to go any longer unpunished. His ambassadors were ordered to depart without even entering the city, unless they would consent to give up the kingdom of Numidia, as well as the person of Jugurtha himself. Unwilling to comply with such a demand, they accordingly retired; and Calpurnius, embarking with his troops at Rhegium, entered the dominions of Jugurtha, and began a vigorous war. The course of his army was everywhere marked by the most dreadful devastation. He formed sieges, plundered cities, and made prisoners. The terrified inhabitants fled in all directions at the simple mention of his name, and Jugurtha himself began finally to fear that his empire was at an end. But what could he do? His armies were

The Roman General bribed by Jugurtha.

insufficient to cope with the veteran troops of Rome, and he had no allies strong enough to enable him to make a determined resistance against his invaders.

Jugurtha knew well enough what to do. Hitherto the Romans had not been proof against the power of his gold, and his coffers were still amply provided with it. Confident that in this way he could drive them from his country, he sent emissaries to Calpurnius, with offers of large sums of money, if he would leave him alone in peace. Calpurnius was purchased easily; and, in order to deceive the Roman Senate, pretended that the Numidian king had delivered up to him his towns, his horses, his elephants, and every thing that he possessed; and for a time this was apparently the case. But so soon as the Roman army had left Numidia, Jugurtha entered again into possession of all his dominions, and even purchased of the base Calpurnius the horses and elephants which should have been retained for the service of Rome.

It was not very long before the Roman people began to suspect that the treaty made between Calpurnius and Jugurtha was a perfect sham; and when, at length, their suspicions were confirmed, the greatest indignation was

manifested against the Senate. The Tribunes of the People complained in the bitterest terms. They declared, in the public assemblies, that there was no justice left among them—that money was the tyrant of Rome, and that the grandees and nobles had no other deities. “They tell us,” said one of them, “that the Numidian has yielded himself up to the Republic—that he has delivered up his places, his troops, and his elephants. Convince us of the truth of this assertion; make Jugurtha come to Rome. If it be true that he has submitted, he will obey your orders; if not, you may easily judge that what they call a treaty is nothing but a collusion between that crafty prince and our generals—a treaty that has produced nothing but impunity of his crimes to him, scandalous riches to those who were intrusted with the Senate’s commission, and an eternal dishonor to the Republic.”

It was impossible to prevent the people from sending for Jugurtha, and the prætor Cassius was consequently dispatched to bring him to Rome. A less artful man would have probably resisted any such proceeding, but Jugurtha, still counting upon the power of his gold, consented to go, on receiving the public faith as his safeguard. On reaching Rome, he gained

More Corruption—Jugurtha sent Home.

at once the Tribune Boebius, who managed to protect him, but not without exposing himself to the charge of corruption. Indeed, the people became so provoked at this fresh instance of collusion, that they threatened to seize Jugurtha, and give his crown to another grandson of Masinissa, who, upon the death of Adherbal, had taken refuge in Rome. Jugurtha, however, put an end to such a plan as this by causing the assassination of his rival. But the murderer being taken, confessed that he had been employed by Jugurtha to commit the deed, whereupon this infamous wretch was commanded by the Senate to depart at once from Rome. Passing through the gate of the city, it is said that he looked back and exclaimed: "O mercenary town! thou wouldst quickly be enslaved, if a merchant were found but rich enough to buy thee!"

Although the Romans were bound by their promise to suffer Jugurtha to return to his dominions, yet they were determined to bring him back to Rome, and punish him for his iniquity. The voice of the people was now raised against him, and it was publicly declared that he should never escape again. A large army, under the command of the consul Albinus, was accordingly sent into Numidia, with orders to

Defeat of another Army sent against Jugurtha.

make a vigorous war upon him, unless he delivered his person and kingdom up to the disposal of the Roman people. But Jugurtha found means to perplex and delay Albinus, to such a degree, that he actually accomplished nothing during the time that he remained in Africa; and the season for holding the election in Rome having arrived, he was obliged to repair thither, and leave his army under the direction of his lieutenant, Aulus. This man possessed neither valor nor military knowledge; and the crafty Numidian succeeded, without much difficulty, in drawing so poor a general into difficulty. Aulus was led, through his artifices, to conduct his army into narrow passes, whose avenues had been previously secured, and then he was completely cut to pieces; life and liberty being given to those who escaped the sword, only on condition that they should pass under the yoke—an ignominious ceremony, by which the conquerors affixed an eternal shame to the defeat of the vanquished. Besides this, Jugurtha compelled Aulus and his principal officers to promise that the Romans should never again disturb him in the possession of the kingdom of Numidia.

As soon as the Senate heard of this shameful treaty, they declared it void; and recalling

Another Army sent—Jugurtha defeated.

Aulus, intrusted Metellus, the consul elect, with the prosecution of the war. The new general, having collected a large supply of provisions and ammunition, set out for Numidia, accompanied by Caius Marius, whom the people had chosen as his lieutenant. On arriving in Africa, Metellus received from Aulus the command of the Roman army, and marching at once against Jugurtha, he drove him to the very extremity of his dominions. Jugurtha was stripped of all his troops, and completely shut out of all his fortified towns. Nothing seemed left for him to do but to submit to whatever terms the Roman general should think fit to dictate to him, and he agreed accordingly to pay to Metellus two hundred thousand pounds weight of silver; to deliver up all his elephants and a certain quantity of arms and horses; and to yield up all who had deserted to his ranks. To these hard conditions Jugurtha rendered a ready obedience; but when Metellus ordered him to repair, himself, to Tisidium for further directions, he began to hesitate, and spent several days without coming to any resolution. The fear of falling into the hands of the Romans, who would doubtless punish him for all his crimes, finally prevailed; and he determined that he would not surrender

Trouble in the Roman Army.

as long as he could find a single soldier to help him fight. Accordingly he broke off all negotiations; gathered together new troops; fortified some small places that were still in his possession, and bid the Romans to take him if they could.

In the mean time trouble arose in the Roman camp. Caius Marius, the lieutenant of Metellus, and a very ambitious man, aspired to the supreme command. The better to attain the object of his wishes, he caused a report to be carried to Rome, that Metellus was prolonging the war in Africa, in order to continue himself in power; and contrived also to have it circulated, that, if he was at the head of the army, a single campaign alone would be sufficient to bring Jugurtha, dead or alive, to Rome.

Hitherto the consulship had never been filled except by a patrician, and Marius belonging to the order of the plebeians, it seemed a very bold thing for him to aspire to this office. He found, however, friends enough in Rome to labor in his interest. A short time previous, then, to the election, word was sent to him in Africa, that there was little doubt of his receiving the majority of the votes. As it was necessary for him to be in Rome at the time of the election, he asked his discharge of Metel-

Caius Marius made Consul.

lus, and received it, though not without a sharp rebuke for making such high pretensions. Without appearing to be offended, he took his departure, and, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in his way by the nobility, was, in due season, made consul and commander of the armies of Rome.

This was a great triumph for the common people; and Marius himself boasted in presence of the patricians, that the dignity he had obtained was a victory which the people had gained over the great, by means of his courage and valor. "By taking the command of the army out of the hands of the great," said he in a public assembly, "you have removed the chief obstacle that lay in the way of victory. It has been nothing but their ignorance in the military art, their presumption, and especially their scandalous avarice, that have drawn out the war to such a length already."

With as little delay as possible, Marius proceeded to raise new troops for the war in Africa. Arriving in Numidia, he marched with the forces that accompanied him, to join those under Metellus. This great general, deeply mortified at being superseded by his late lieutenant, appointed one of his officers to deliver over his army to Marius, and then set out at

Marius takes the Command in Numidia.

once for Rome. A strong body of cavalry, under the command of Cornelius Sylla, soon after arrived in Africa; and these, joining the forces under Marius, formed a large and powerful army.

Previous to the arrival of Marius in Rome, Jugurtha had succeeded in securing the protection and aid of a neighboring king, named Bocchus. Their united army presented a very formidable appearance, but Marius determined to attack them without delay. Taking, first, the great and populous city of Capsa, he began to form plans for destroying the army of Jugurtha; but while thus engaged, the two kings marched privately upon him, and throwing the Roman troops into the greatest consternation, slaughtered them by hundreds. Indeed they would have gained a complete victory, had they known and improved the advantage which they, upon this occasion, acquired.

Recovering from his surprise, and rendered by this misfortune much more cautious, Marius collected his troops and once more made an effort to meet and punish his crafty foe. Two decisive battles were soon after fought, and the two kings were sadly beaten in both. Bocchus became convinced that he had committed a great error in allying himself with Jugurtha

against the Roman nation. Hoping, however, that he might yet save his crown, he sent ambassadors to Rome, with instructions to signify to the Senate his regret at having engaged in the service of Jugurtha.

These ambassadors were received with great respect at Rome; but in reply to their solicitations they were answered in these words: "The Senate and Roman people are not used to forget either services or injuries; however, since Bocchus repents of his fault they grant him their pardon. As to peace and alliance, he shall obtain them when he has deserved them by his actions."

"What does this mean?" said Bocchus, in reply to these words, as they were delivered to him by the ambassador. "What would the Senate desire when they tell me, that I shall have peace and alliance after I have deserved them by my actions? Go to the camp of Marius, and bid him to send his quæstor hither."

The quæstor, Sylla, was accordingly sent to the troubled king. "You have no other way," said Sylla to him, "of obtaining peace and alliance, but by delivering Jugurtha to us; and thus you will make amends for the imprudence of your first engagement."

The proposal was not at all agreeable to

Bocchus delivers Jugurtha to Sylla.

Bocchus, who could not bear to be guilty of such a piece of treachery. He would not listen to it; and their interview ended. But Sylla came to see him again and again, and each time being more pressing, and more eloquent, Bocchus finally consented to yield up Jugurtha. The wretched prince was seized, loaded with chains, and given up to Sylla, who placed him in the hands of Marius.

Messengers were at once dispatched to Rome to bear the joyful tidings, and, soon after, the conqueror of Numidia followed with his victorious army. The gates of the city were flung wide open for his triumphal entry, and Jugurtha, covered with chains, was dragged like a slave at the wheels of the chariot of Marius. In order to prevent his escape, he was taken at once to prison, where he was condemned to be starved to death. His royal robe was taken off by the executioner, as well as all the clothes which covered him, and then the miserable wretch was rudely pushed into the dungeon, destined to be his tomb. "Oh, Hercules, how cold are thy stoves!" he exclaimed, as the damp air struck upon his naked body; and thus, after struggling with hunger for six days, died a king who, to gratify his ambition, did not hesitate to commit the blackest crimes.

MARIUS AND SYLLA.

FROM 102 TO 86 B. C.

Marius defeats the Barbarians—Marius in disfavor—He goes to Asia—Assassination of Drusus—War of the Confederates—Sylla sent against Mithridates—Contention between Marius and Sylla—Sylla marches against his enemies at Rome—Marius and Sulpitius driven from the city—They are proscribed—Sulpitius slain—Cinna made Consul—He opposes the measures of Sylla—Stratagem of Cinna—His defeat—Deprived of his office—Complains to the army—The flight of Marius—His condemnation—His escape from death—He goes to Africa—His arrival at Carthage—He is invited to join Cinna—They threaten Rome—Cinna made Consul—Brutal conduct of Marius—Death of Marius.



CAPTURE OF CAIUS MARIUS.

IX.

MARIUS AND SYLLA.

THE rejoicings in Rome on account of the defeat and capture of Jugurtha, were very much marred by the disputes between the patricians and plebeians, as to who was entitled to most honor for this achievement. The plebeians maintained that the successful termination of the war was due to Marius, the first consul chosen from their number; and the patricians contended that Marius might yet have been in Africa, if Sylla, a patrician, had not contrived to get possession of the person of Jugurtha. A great jealousy at once sprang up between these two distinguished soldiers, which resulted in a good deal of trouble and bloodshed.

These contentions, however, gave place, for a while, to a general alarm created by the threatened invasion of a great multitude of barbari-

Marius defeats the Barbarians.

ans, known by the name of Teutones and Cimbri, issuing from Chersonesus Cimbrica, now called Jutland. These barbarians, numbering more than three hundred thousand, had already overrun Gaul, and were making preparations to pass into Italy. The fear of such immense numbers of people, remarkable for their fierceness, smothered, of course, every thing like discord among the citizens of Rome. The common safety occupied their attention more than party strifes, and, with one accord, Marius was called to take command of the armies, in this time of trouble. Under his direction the Roman territory was ably defended. In one battle, which lasted, as is said, two whole days, a hundred and forty thousand of the Teutones were slain; and at another time, a hundred and twenty thousand of the Cimbri fell upon the field, besides sixty thousand that were taken prisoners.

If Marius had been considered a great general before, he must, certainly, now be regarded as the first in the Roman Republic. Indeed his popularity was very great, but he was not so much admired for his virtues as Metellus, the general whom he had superseded in Numidia. This fact was to him a subject of deep mortification, and he therefore did every thing

Marius' jealousy of Metellus—Marius in disfavor.

in his power to accomplish the downfall of his rival. Through the instrumentality of certain base men whom he had in his employ, he succeeded in procuring the banishment of Metellus. But these men, who soon became known as the tools of his ambition, were detected in the commission of the grossest crimes; and when Marius was called upon to punish them, as they deserved, he did every thing in his power to facilitate their escape. The people were, very naturally, indignant at such conduct in their chief ruler; and determining to take the matter in their own hands, pursued these persons with so much vigilance, that they were obliged, for safety, to surrender themselves to Marius, who secured them against the attempts of their enemies.

This only made the matter worse. The services which Marius had rendered to the State were all forgotten, by reason of this conspiracy with evil-doers. The people resolved that they would themselves have justice; and surrounding, therefore, the house in which he was protecting these wicked men, they forced it open, and killed them with clubs and stones. Then turning upon Marius, they heaped upon him all sorts of accusations; and, as a kind of punishment, demanded the repeal of the sentence

of banishment against Metellus. A public assembly was convened at once, and, by an almost unanimous vote, Metellus was restored to the rights of citizenship.

With as little delay as possible, the friends of this old and faithful general notified him of what had taken place; and when intelligence arrived that he was on his way to Rome, the whole city went out to meet him, so that his return was, in fact, a triumph. But while this occasion filled every one with joy, Marius alone was much dejected; and, with as little delay as possible, leaving Rome, he embarked for Asia, under pretence of performing some sacrifices which he had vowed during the war with the Teutones and Cimbri. It is said that his real object was to bring about a war between Rome and Mithridates, one of the most powerful monarchs in the East. Without, however, accomplishing any thing, he returned to Rome, where, during a season of peace, and amid a number of young and gallant generals, he became in a short time little noticed.

It was not long, however, before difficulties arose in Rome, the results of which were, in a little while, felt throughout the whole extent of Italy. These difficulties had their origin in the great privileges attached to the quality of a

Difficulties in Rome.

Roman citizen. Every one entitled to this distinction, wherever he might choose to dwell, had the right to give his vote in the election of magistrates and commanders, and was a sharer in the sovereignty of the State. It was, therefore, quite natural that those nations that had submitted themselves to the commonwealth—that paid the taxes, and furnished the soldiers required of them—should seek to have some voice in the government which they were thus supporting. And, accordingly, when an opportunity occurred, some of them demanded the rights and name of Roman citizens. They maintained that they did more for the support and protection of Rome, than she and her territories did themselves; and they urged that there was no justice in treating as mere subjects, those, who were, in every way, equals and fellow-citizens.

The Tribune, Livius Drusus, took it upon himself to settle these difficulties, and to this end made several propositions, which were, however, exceedingly obnoxious to the Senate. Among them was a very large increase of their number, and the division of the public lands. But the proud senators disdained to have intruders thrust among them, and the very mention of Agrarian law was enough to raise a conspir-

War of the Confederates.

acy against Drusus. The Latins and other nations did all in their power to protect him, but notwithstanding this he was unable to escape the fury of his opposers, and was finally slain at the very door of his own house.

The cruel assassination of a man who had labored to procure the rights of citizenship for the foreign subjects of the commonwealth, could not fail to arouse among them the greatest indignation; and these people very naturally sought to obtain their rights by force of arms. This, it was, that gave rise to what is called the *Social War*, or *War of the Confederates*. Deputies were sent from one city to another, and a league entered into between them, by which it was agreed that each district should furnish a certain proportion of arms and soldiers. They appointed also their most skilful generals to command their troops, and made the most rapid preparations for an attack upon Rome. But before commencing any acts of hostility, they sent ambassadors to the city, demanding, in the name of all the nations of Italy, to be recognized as Roman citizens.

A demand made under such circumstances could not be granted; and the Senate, even refusing to listen to their ambassadors, the Confederates promptly drew out their forces,

consisting of more than a hundred thousand men, with the determination to enforce their claims. With equal promptness, the Senate also raised an unusual number of legions, which, under the command of the two consuls, assisted by C. Marius, Cn. Pompeius, Cornelius Sylla, and Licinus Crassus, took the field against the foe. Each of these persons commanded separate bodies, on account of the great number of places to which it was necessary for them to give attention at the same time; and thus Rome had, in fact, a number of very large armies scattered over different parts of Italy.

The spirit manifested on both sides seemed to be nearly the same. The one fought obstinately for their rights, and the other determined to resist to the last. Many were the bloody encounters between them, and many were the cities taken and retaken, without any apparent advantage to either. But, day by day, their forces were diminished and weakened to such a degree, that it became evident that, whichever side was victorious, the commonwealth must be ruinously affected. Willing to prevent, if possible, an act of self-destruction, the Senate signified their determination to yield to the Confederates as much as was consistent with

Marius falls in public Estimation.

the dignity of the Roman name. The rights of citizenship were at first given to such as had not taken up arms; then to those who offered first to lay them down; and, finally, to the nations adjoining the Roman territories. In this way the fury of the enemies was allayed, and they, at length, becoming suspicious of one another, hastened to make their separate peace.

When an end had been put to the war, the people, as a matter of course, began to talk over its incidents, and to bestow their praise, or their dispraise, according to the merits of the different officers who had been trusted with conducting it. The great reputation that had been heretofore sustained by Marius, suffered, for some reason, upon this occasion. Whether it was on account of the heaviness and slowness natural to advancing years, or because he had no opportunities to display his military talents, cannot be known; but certain it is, that he did very little for the glory of the Roman arms, while Sylla, his great rival, distinguished himself by so many grand achievements, that immediately after the conclusion of the war, the consulate was conferred upon him; and, not long afterwards, he was made governor of Asia Minor.

About this time, Mithridates, the mightiest

Mithridates offends the Roman People.

prince of all the East, gave great offence to the Roman people, by making war upon, and conquering several kingdoms in alliance with them. And when the Senate sent to him a request that he would withdraw his forces from all the provinces under the protection of the commonwealth, he testified his contempt of their power and his resentment, by causing the murder of fifty thousand Romans, who, for the purpose of carrying on different kinds of traffic, had settled in the East. Not content with this, he even threatened Rome itself, and all Italy, with the power of his arms.

It was no common enemy that had now risen up against Rome. In every direction he had carried the terror of his name, and nation after nation had fallen a prey to his fearful arms. His armies were said to reckon more than two hundred and fifty thousand foot, and fifty thousand horse, with an infinite number of armed chariots; and his seaports contained more than four hundred ships of war. But the resources of Rome were also vast; and the Senate, trusting in the valor of its soldiers, and in the experience of its generals, did not hesitate to enter the lists, even against a prince as powerful as Mithridates, and accordingly appointed Sylla to undertake the war.

So great an honor conferred upon a hated rival was a bitter thing for Marius, and he resolved, if possible, to take it from him, and to have it bestowed upon himself. For this purpose he brought over to his own interest a Tribune of the people, named P. Sulpitius, a bold and enterprising man, and an inveterate enemy of Sylla. By skilful management of their plans, these two persons succeeded in rousing the allies of Rome against the Senate, and in inciting them to demand such an alteration of the laws, as would throw into their hands a degree of power which would enable them to defeat the purposes of the Senate. This met with instant opposition, and holy days were proclaimed, whereon it was not lawful to do business, in order that compliance with the demand might be peacefully deferred. But Sulpitius, without any regard for this proclamation, summoned an assembly of the people, and sent to the consuls a bold request that the holy days should be revoked, in order that the people might give their votes upon the alteration of the law. This being refused, a great commotion arose, and the party of Sulpitius drawing their swords, much blood was spilled, and the son-in-law of Sylla was killed, while endeavoring to succor his father. Sylla, him-

self, was pursued by his enemies, and compelled to take refuge in the house of Marius, which he happened to find open in his flight.

It would now have been easy enough for Marius to free himself forever of his rival ; but he could not take the life of a man who had sought safety at his fireside ; still, he compelled him to return to the assembly, and declare the holy days abolished and repealed. But Sylla had no sooner done this, than he fled from the city, and placed himself at the head of those troops which he had commanded in the war of the Confederates, and which were to march under him against Mithridates. In the mean time, the holy days being repealed, Sulpitius procured the alteration of the law, and succeeded also in causing the command of the army to be taken away from Sylla and bestowed upon Marius.

This was the beginning of a series of disturbances, in and about Rome, which might, with truth, be called a civil war. Marius, appointed to the command of the army, now on its way against Mithridates, sent immediately some officers of his party to take possession of it, until he could himself get ready to overtake it. Proceeding with all dispatch, these officers finally reached the camp of Sylla, to whom

Contention between Marius and Sylla.

they communicated their message, requesting him to yield to them the command of the army. But Sylla was not one of those men who tamely submit to the dictation of others. He bid the officers of Marius to go back to Rome, and tell their master to come and take the command himself, if he could. But these officers becoming insolent, some of the soldiers of Sylla, who were standing by, fell upon them and slew them; and then, turning to their commander, besought him to lead them against his enemies at Rome, before taking them to Asia.

The news of the slaughter of these officers having been carried to the city, Marius was so enraged, that he caused a number of the friends of Sylla to be put to death, and their houses to be plundered. This occasioned so much terror among others, that they fled with all haste to the distant camp, and thither carrying a report of what had taken place at home, created so much excitement, that Sylla determined to go back, at once, to Rome. This resolution caused a number to leave him, because they were unwilling to turn their arms against their own country. Still these were, in comparison, so very few, that Sylla would not change his purpose; but, on the contrary, hastened to put it

Sylla marches against his Enemies at Rome.

into execution. His colleague, Q. Pompeius, hearing of his proceedings, set out from Rome to join him; but while they were yet at some distance from the city, Marius and Sulpitius, who had no army to oppose them, sent the prætors, Brutus and Servilius, to command Sylla to stop his march.

The insolent manner in which these two men addressed the commander of the army, so exasperated the soldiers, that they fell upon them, broke the fasces and axes carried before them, and, tearing in pieces their purple gowns, would have killed them, if Sylla had not interfered. Seeing the prætors return to Rome in such a plight, Marius and Sulpitius became convinced that it was useless to resist so powerful and so bitter an enemy, and accordingly dispatched deputies to him, hoping, at least, to delay his march. When these deputies reached Sylla, they began, at once, to entreat him and his colleague, Pompeius, to suspend their anger, and to cause their troops to halt within five miles of Rome. "The Senate," said they, "are in hopes of bringing about an accommodation, and will see you fully satisfied in this matter. Be contented to let your troops rest until these difficulties can be settled."

Sylla perceiving, however, that the object of

Sylla drives Marius and Sulpitius from the City.

the deputies was simply to delay his progress until Marius could raise forces to meet him, made them believe that he accepted their proposals, and even directed his officers, in their presence, to mark out a camp. But as soon as the deputies had got out of sight, he sent his cavalry behind them, and, bringing on the remainder of his army with the greatest speed, arrived before the gates of Rome, while his enemies supposed him to be still far away.

Notwithstanding the suddenness of Sylla's appearance, Marius and Sulpitius were partially prepared to oppose him; but their resistance being very feeble, he entered the city sword in hand, and threatened to burn and raze it to the ground, if the people gave any aid or protection to Marius and Sulpitius. In consequence of this, these two men were abandoned by every one, and finally forced to fly from Rome.

With an army of six legions at his command, it was no difficult matter for Sylla to convince the people that there were many things in the government of Rome that needed revision and correction, before order could again exist. Accordingly, he abolished certain laws which gave the control of the elections into the hands of the people; he took measures to prevent the con-

tinual speeches by which, as he declared, the Tribunes were wont to create seditions among the people; and established a law which declared every citizen who had filled the Tribunate incapable of holding any other magistracy for the future. Redressing, in this manner, the wrongs which he thought had been sustained by the patricians, he turned his attention to revenging his own private grievances, and, with as little delay as possible, caused the decree which gave the command of the army to Marius to be repealed. Not content with this, he obtained articles of impeachment against him, as well as against his son; also against Sulpitius and twelve of the principal senators, for having been authors of the last insurrection. These persons were all declared enemies of the Roman State. Rewards were set upon their heads; they were interdicted water and fire, which meant all manner of subsistence and assistance from anybody; and throughout the city of Rome, and all the provinces of the State, the decree was proclaimed by sound of trumpet, ordaining that they should everywhere be prosecuted at the public charge, and be put to death as soon as they could be found. Nor were any efforts spared to find them. By order of Sylla, troops were sent out in all directions

Sulpitius slain—Cinna made Consul.

to take them; but none of them, except the Tribune Sulpitius, could be found. He was discovered in the moors and marshes of Lorentum, by some of Sylla's horsemen, who immediately cut off his head, and carrying it to Rome, nailed it to the rostrum.

Such relentlessness on the part of Sylla began, in time, to arouse bitter feelings towards him. The people charged him with cruelty; and the Senate murmured against his proscription of their colleagues, as if they were common thieves and vagabonds. Some became bold enough to say that he sought the death of a man more generous than himself; and that he had forgotten that he owed his life to Marius, who might easily have destroyed him, when he took refuge in his house. These reproaches did not escape Sylla, and he sought to overcome them by feigning, subsequently, a vast deal of moderation. Thus he testified no anger at the defeat of certain persons, whose election for certain offices he had recommended, and even suffered his enemy, Cornelius Cinna, to be chosen consul the following year.

Cinna, it is true, was his kinsman, and a patrician; but he had devoted himself to the interest of the plebeians, and was consequently an opponent of the measures of Sylla. As soon,

therefore, as he had entered upon the duties of his office, he declared that he would procure the repeal of all the laws of Sylla, and even undertook, through the instrumentality of one of his creatures, to procure the impeachment of Sylla. But without deigning to give an answer to the charges made against him, Sylla left both the charges and his judges, and set out from Rome for his army, to make war against Mithridates.

In order to maintain himself more firmly against Sylla, it was evident that Cinna must, if possible, bring about the recall of Marius. But the decree of his proscription was a very solemn thing, and the party of Sylla in Rome was so strong, that its reversal could not be accomplished without some difficulty. To make sure of it, however, he gained the Confederates on his side, by promising to restore to them those rights of citizenship which Sylla had virtually taken away from them. In a secret way he notified them to assemble on a certain day, in large numbers, at Rome, with swords under their gowns, and at the same time appointed an assembly of the people, for the purpose of proposing a new law for their acceptance.

When the day arrived, the Forum was so crowded with these Confederates, that the citi-

Stratagem of Cinna.

zens themselves could scarcely find access to it. Cinna mounted the rostrum, and, in a long speech, set forth the claims of the Latins and Italians, and maintained, that the glory and interests of the commonwealth demanded that all the different nations of Italy should form but one body, and one State. He demanded also, that, as new citizens, they should receive places in the old tribes, as chance might determine it; and declared that this was the only way to preserve peace and union, and to increase the glory and terror of the Roman name.

The Confederates, of course, received such a proposition with great applause, and loudly demanded that a vote should be taken, in order to make it a law. But the ancient citizens and patricians opposed it strongly; and from disputes they went rapidly to loud invectives and bitter accusations, when the Confederates finally drew their swords from beneath their gowns, and falling upon the ancient citizens, drove them from the Forum. Octavius, the colleague of Cinna, and a friend of Sylla, fearing that something like this might happen, had taken the precaution to have in readiness a large number of armed people. As soon, therefore, as the disturbance took place, he marched to-

Cinna leaves Rome—He is deprived of his Office.

wards the Forum, and attacking the Latins, dispersed and pursued them, sword in hand, out of the gates of the city.

Thus abandoned, Cinna had no other course but to leave Rome also; and following, accordingly, the people whom he had invited thither, he visited successively their largest towns, and endeavored to stir them up to revenge themselves upon the Roman people. It was not very difficult for him to find, wherever he went, enough enemies to Rome. Most of the cities and towns resolved to unite in war upon their common foe, and he went zealously to work, raising men and money.

In the mean time, the Senate, hearing of what he was doing, passed sentence upon him. They declared that he had forfeited his right as a citizen; they deprived him of his office of consul, and elected Lucius Merula, a priest of Jupiter, in his stead. This increased the fury of the fiery Cinna, and, resolving upon the most destructive measures against his enemies, he proceeded to Capua, where a large body of Roman soldiers was then stationed. The officers and troops, ignorant of what had happened, were, of course, much surprised to see a consul appear among them without his lictors, fasces, and other tokens of dignity. "You see," said

The Roman Army at Capua receive him as Consul.

Cinna, addressing them, “an unheard-of precedent of the Senate’s tyranny. You had made me your consul; the people of Rome had conferred that dignity on me by their votes; and the Senate deprives me of it, without hearing what I can say for myself, and even without having consulted the people. I am stripped of the badges of my office, driven from the tribunal and the city, while you are thereby treated with contempt, and deprived of your liberties and your rights.” Saying this, he tore his robe, called upon the gods for justice, and threw himself upon the ground as if he was resolved to terminate his life.

By this conduct Cinna succeeded in his scheme. The soldiers began to cry out against the tyranny of the Senate. They lifted the abused consul from the ground, restored to him the fasces, and, taking an oath of fidelity, acknowledged him as their consul and general. Thus the man so lately forced to fly from Rome became its formidable foe; and the consuls, Octavius and Merula, were obliged, with all haste, to raise new troops to oppose any projects which he might have for the recovery of his authority. In the mean time the party of Cinna increased daily in strength. People flocked to him continually from the city.

The Flight of Marius.

Many, even of the senators, went to his camp, and it was reported that the renowned Caius Marius and his son were on their way to join him.

This extraordinary man, after having been six times elevated to the consulship, and after having acquired the greatest glory for the arms of Rome, was compelled, on account of his many acts of tyranny and violence, to fly, at the age of seventy years, from his country, unattended even by a single friend or servant. Escaping through the gates of the city, he journeyed all day, on foot, with as much rapidity as his great age would suffer him; and, a price having been set upon his head, he often found it necessary to conceal himself among rocks and caves, in order to preserve his life. Finding, near the close of the first day of his flight, that the soldiers of Sylla were just upon his track, he plunged into a dismal swamp, and, burying himself up to his neck in the sickening mud, there remained during the entire night. Trembling with the cold, and half dead with weariness, he left his hiding-place at break of day, and stealthily pursuing his course towards the sea-coast, hoped that he might meet some vessel that would carry him away from Italy. He had not, however, proceeded very far before he encountered a

Marius taken—He is condemned to Death.

party of persons from the city of Minturnæ, who, perhaps, hearing of the reward that had been offered for his head, were out in search of him. Being easily recognized by some one among them who had often seen him, he was at once seized, and stripped of all his clothing. A rope was then placed around his neck, and the poor old man was dragged along the road, amid the shouts of a rabble that soon gathered about his heels. In this condition he was carried into the city of Minturnæ, and delivered up to the magistrates, who cast him immediately into prison.

After a short conference, these magistrates determined, agreeably to the edict of the Roman Senate, to put Marius to death, and accordingly sent to his prison a public executioner, who was a Cimbrian by birth. Marius, on seeing the man enter the prison sword in hand, easily guessed his errand, and drawing up his tall form to its utmost height, fixed upon him such a terrible look from beneath his shaggy brows, that the frightened Cimbrian stood transfixed upon the spot. "Thou barbarian!" shouted the old Roman general, in a voice of thunder. "How darest thou come hither, sword in hand, to take the life of Caius Marius? Begone, vile slave!"

He escapes Death—Goes to Africa.

The Cimbrian, terrified by the voice as well as by the name of Marius, sprang through the prison door, and rushing into the presence of the magistrates, declared that it was not in his power to take the life of such a man. The magistrates, seeing the frightened appearance of their executioner, concluded that the gods had interfered to save the life of Marius, and, without delay, proceeded to set him free. They even furnished him with a vessel, which carried him to the island of *Ænaria*, whence, learning that his son had taken refuge at the court of Numidia, he determined to pass into Africa. A storm having arisen, he was obliged to put into one of the ports of Sicily, where he encountered further difficulty. He had scarcely set his foot upon the shore, when the Roman quæstor in command of that country, happening to be upon the spot, recognized him and ordered him to be seized. A tumult at once arose between the officers of the quæstor and the men belonging to the vessel of Marius, which resulted in the loss of sixteen of the latter. Marius himself escaped, and, a few days after, reaching the coast of Africa, landed near Carthage.

In this ruined city he hoped to find, at last, a place of safety, especially as he had always

Marius sitting upon the Ruins of Carthage.

been a friend to Sextilius, the governor of the province. He had not, however, been here long when a lictor approached him with orders from Sextilius, that he should depart, at once, from his government, under penalty of being prosecuted as an enemy of the Roman State. Overcome with grief that he, who had once been the master of the whole world, could not now find for himself, in any country upon the earth, a resting-place for his foot, he sat and gazed in the face of the lictor without offering a word in answer. Pressed, however, for a reply, he finally exclaimed: "Go and tell your master, that you have seen Caius Marius, banished his native country, sitting upon the ruins of Carthage."

But Marius did not wait to know what effect this warning, as to the uncertainty of fortune, might have upon the Roman governor. Rising from his humble seat, he went at once upon the vessel, which was still at hand, and spent the ensuing winter in wandering along the coast of Africa, waiting the return of a servant whom he had dispatched to his son, who was in that country. To his great surprise, young Marius himself returned, and together they sailed to the island Cercina, where they received information of the proceedings of Cinna.

Cinna invites Marius to join him.

With as little delay as possible, Marius sent a messenger to Cinna, offering to aid him in his intended attack upon Rome. In reply, Cinna dispatched a letter addressed to him as proconsul, and sent to him also lictors, and all the other insignia of that dignity. But Marius returning them all, as not agreeing with his present circumstances, set out for the camp of Cinna in nothing but an old gown, and with his hair and beard rough and unshorn.

The news soon flew to Rome, that Marius had returned to Italy with a design to render aid to Cinna; and, immediately, more than five hundred citizens went out to join him. Encouraged thus, he visited a number of the towns upon his route, and, by means of handsome promises, induced great numbers of people to join his standard. Many also of the Roman soldiers, who had formerly been under him, came and offered their services; so that in a short time his own army, added to that of Cinna, was thought sufficient to march against Rome.

In the mean time, active preparations had been made for the defence of the city. The consul Octavius, did not, unfortunately, enjoy that popularity among his troops so necessary to the successful conduct of the affairs of war.

Rome threatened by Marius and Cinna.

The Senate, therefore, in the absence of Sylla, who was far away in Asia, fighting against Mithridates, sent for Cecilius Metellus, a man of great courage and ability, then engaged in making war upon the Samnites. They wrote to Metellus, instructing him to bring back his army to Rome, if he could make honorable conditions with the enemy; and, at the same time, charging him, in case he should not be able to do this, to leave it in care of his lieutenants and return himself. Through the management of Marius, the Samnites refused to come to terms, and Metellus was consequently obliged to go to Rome alone.

On his arrival, the soldiers of Octavius loudly demanded Metellus for their general, declaring that under him they would brave the greatest warrior that could be brought against them. But he refused, so decidedly, to listen to their seditious language, that many of them, offended, went over to Marius, who created still farther disorder in the city, by offering freedom to all the slaves who would join his army. Meantime, a great clamor arising among the people on account of the scarcity of food, the Senate were compelled to send deputies to Cinna, to make him some overtures of peace. But Cinna being unwilling to receive them,

unless they acknowledged him as consul, they were forced to return to Rome.

This was a very trying situation for the Senate. On the one hand, the city was so closely besieged by the armies of Marius and Cinna, that no food could anywhere be procured. On the other hand, the appointment of Merula to the office of consul could not be repealed, and Cinna would grant relief only on condition that this office should be declared his own. Under such circumstances, it was impossible to do any thing; but, with great generosity, Merula came into the Senate, and voluntarily laid down the consulship. The Senate now sent deputies again to Cinna, inviting him to enter Rome, and assume the office of consul. Nothing was demanded of him but an oath, that he would put none of his fellow-citizens to death, except in accordance with the usual course of law. But this oath he would not take, although he promised that he would never give his consent to the death of any one.

Every one in Rome was not, of course, satisfied with these proceedings. Metellus chose to banish himself rather than acknowledge Cinna; but the consul Octavius, whom Cinna had requested to leave the city, arrayed himself in his consular habit, and, placing himself on his

Brutal conduct of Marius.

tribunal, resolved to meet his fate. Cinna and Marius marched to the gates, the former entering with his guards, while the latter, remaining outside, refused to go in until the decree which proscribed him had been repealed by the people. It was, therefore, necessary to call an assembly of the tribes, but the vote had not been half taken, when the furious man burst into the town at the head of his lawless troops, and murdered every one that he could find of those whom he supposed to be his enemies. The consul Octavius was slain in his tribunal; and Merula, knowing that he would meet a similar fate, opened his own veins and died. The whole city presented a dreadful sight. Blood flowed on every side, and the dead, both of the patricians and the plebeians, lay unburied in the streets. The soldiers of Marius had orders to kill all those whose salute he did not return, so that his friends and officers were afraid to come into his presence.

This bloodthirsty man was not, however, satisfied. He had not yet been able to lay his hand upon Sylla, on whom he longed, more than on all others, to vent his rage. This hateful rival was far away, fighting the battles of the Republic in distant lands. Still, the old monster sought to do him all the injury he

could. He razed his house to the ground, confiscated his goods, and sought to slay his wife and children, who, however, fortunately escaped his fury. By means of the power which he exercised over the Senate, he caused all the laws established during Sylla's consulship to be revoked, and also had this valiant soldier declared an enemy of the commonwealth.

When the season for another election of consuls again occurred, Cinna and Marius managed to be chosen to this high office; but by this time news was brought that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war, and that, having reduced the provinces, he was returning with a large army to Rome. The two consuls were naturally alarmed by this intelligence, for they would now have no ordinary leaders like Octavius and Merula to contend with, but a skilful general, who had formerly driven Marius himself from his country, and who had recently maintained a successful war with one of the most powerful monarchs of the East. Marius especially was terribly disturbed. He had already experienced all the miseries of banishment and flight, and, old age now full upon him, he trembled at the thought of encountering them again. So great was his anxiety that he was unable to sleep either by day

The Death of Marius.

or night, and, unable any longer to endure it, he abandoned himself to excessive drinking. Although he might have found in this way a temporary relief for his harassed mind, he rapidly sank beneath it, and before the arrival of Sylla, fell into a pleuritic fever which terminated his wretched life. Thus, at the age of seventy years, died the unhappy Marius, who had been seven times consul of Rome, and who, had it not been for his execrable ambition, might have won the admiration and gratitude of his country. The news of his death was received with the greatest joy, and every Roman leaped as if a load of shackles had been stricken from his body.

CIVIL WARS AND CONSPIRACIES.

FROM 86 TO 62 B. C.

MITHRIDATES and Sylla—Sylla returns to Italy—His Contest with young Marius—The Siege of Preneste—Telesinus attacks Rome—He is defeated by Sylla—Cruel Conduct of Sylla—His Usurpation of Power—His Abdication thereof—His Death and its Consequences—The Servile War—Defeat of Spartacus—Crassus and Pompey—Character of Catiline—His Conspiracy against Rome—Discovery of his Plans by Cicero—Means taken to defend the City—Cicero accuses Catiline before the Senate—Catiline leaves Rome—The Ambassadors of the Allobroges—Their betrayal of the Conspirators—Defeat and Death of Catiline—Honor paid to Cicero.

X.

CIVIL WARS AND CONSPIRACIES.

MANY things conspired to delay Sylla in his return to Italy, and among them, especially, were the difficulties which he had in concluding a peace with Mithridates, together with the annoyances thrown in his way by the army under the command of Valerius Flaccus, which was sent by Cinna into Asia against Mithridates, under pretence that the war which Sylla had made upon that prince was disowned by the commonwealth. This army consisted of two legions; but its leader, the consul Valerius, was a man of such a tyrannical and violent spirit, that his soldiers did not hesitate to second the ambitious designs of his lieutenant, Fimbria, who, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, aspired to the supreme command. Valerius was slain by the hand of Fimbria himself, and this base man at once took the place of the

Mithridates and Sylla.

general whom he had sworn to follow and obey.

Mithridates was not ignorant of what had taken place in Rome, and he knew well enough how anxious Sylla was to be at liberty to hasten thither. In hopes, then, of securing terms more favorable to himself, he made use of every means to detain and wear out the Roman general. Different parties were intrusted with negotiating between the two great hostile leaders, and different terms were several times proposed, without coming to a satisfactory conclusion, until, finally, the patience of Sylla being exhausted, he spoke with so much fierceness to the ambassadors of Mithridates that they went terrified to their master, and advised him, if he valued his life and crown, to come speedily to terms with the fiery Roman. Mithridates then desired a personal interview with Sylla—because, by making peace with him, he would not be free from the war which Fimbria was carrying on against him.

To this interview Sylla readily agreed, and they met at Dardanum, a town of Troas. On approaching the Roman general, Mithridates held out his hand to him, in token of friendship; but Sylla, drawing back, asked him whether he accepted of the peace upon the

Sylla, by Stratagem, gains the Army of Fimbria.

conditions last proposed. The haughty monarch of the East was so confounded by the superior haughtiness of the Roman general, that he could scarcely find words for utterance, and, like an abashed maiden, faintly murmured that he was willing to accept the terms. Upon this Sylla embraced him, and assured him that he would soon put Fimbria out of a condition to give him any further trouble.

Faithful to his word, Sylla marched, without delay, against Fimbria, and pitched his camp close by that of his treacherous rival. With as little loss of time as possible, he sent him a summons to surrender up to him, as proconsul, the command which he had so basely obtained, without the consent of either the Senate or the Roman people. But Fimbria refused to comply with his request, and thereupon both applied themselves to the fortifying of their respective camps. The soldiers of both parties being, however, of the same nation, and chiefly of the same city, it was quite natural that, in a foreign land, they should be rather disposed to friendship than to hostility. Consequently, when they met, they saluted one another, and by degrees visited from camp to camp clandestinely, until at length it was impossible to make them oppose each other in deadly battle.

Sylla returns to Italy—Cn. Pompeius.

Sylla knew how to take advantage of this. He instructed his own troops to encourage desertion from the camp of Fimbria, and, one day, this ridiculous general found himself all alone in the midst of his silent fortifications. Knowing that Sylla would punish him for his murder of Valerius, he fled to Pergamus, and there run himself through with his own sword.

With as much haste as possible, Sylla now set forward with his troops for Rome, and after many and long journeys, both by sea and land, finally arrived in Italy. The two consuls, Cinna and Carbo, hearing of his approach, ordered young Marius to raise forces, and likewise required the Samnites to assist them against their common enemy. It was the intention of Cinna to meet Sylla before he entered Italy, but a portion of his army refusing to go on board of the ships provided for their transportation, a tumult arose, during which a soldier, becoming enraged with Cinna, ran him through with his sword.

On reaching Italy, the army of Sylla was much increased by handsome bodies of troops brought to him by Metellus Pius and Marcus Crassus, but nothing gratified him more than the succors which he received from Cn. Pompeius, afterwards surnamed the Great. The

Sylla wins the Army of Scipio.

force brought to him by this young general, then only twenty-three years of age, consisted of three legions, which was truly a great addition to the army of Sylla, then numbering only thirty thousand men, while his enemy counted two hundred thousand, under the command of fifteen general officers of great experience and courage.

New accessions were thus daily made to the army of Sylla; and when, one day, L. Scipio, one of the consuls, encamped very near him, he contrived, under some pretence, to procure a short truce, during which his soldiers, as in the case of Fimbria, brought over to his standard a large number of the troops of Scipio. The whole matter was carried on so secretly that the consul himself suspected nothing, until he was arrested in his own tent by Sylla's soldiers, and carried to their general. His army was also much augmented through the aid of agents, whom he sent to the very foot of the Alps, in order to gain the Cisalpine Gauls. But young Marius, scarcely less active than he, procured, daily, large forces to oppose him; and, among others, obtained of the Samnites forty thousand men, whom he placed under the command of Pontius Telesinus, the ablest warrior of their nation. Having been elected to the dignity of

Marius routed by Sylla, and besieged in Preneste.

consul, and feeling himself ably supported, he resolved to give Sylla battle, and accordingly, at the head of eighty cohorts, took the field against him. The fight was long and bloody, and for a season seemed very doubtful, until the desertion of some of Marius's troops caused so much confusion that his whole army was broken up and put to flight, and he, himself, compelled to take refuge in Preneste, a well-fortified place close at hand.

Imagining that he should conclude the war by capturing the general, Sylla at once proceeded to invest Preneste. After causing lines, strengthened with redoubts, to be thrown up, ditches to be dug, and all the avenues to the place to be strongly guarded, he marched with a detachment towards Rome. Entering the city without any opposition, he called the people together, and having complained of the manner in which they had suffered themselves to be misled by his enemies, he sold the goods of Marius and his followers, and then returned to his army to endeavor, by the capture of Marius, to terminate the war.

The attention of all Italy was now directed towards Preneste, where Marius, shut up, was trying to elude the grasp of Sylla. His immense armies, under the direction of skilful

Telesinus marches to Rome.

generals, were striving to gain access to him at every point; but the armies of Sylla, ever on the watch, constantly defeated all their plans, and battle after battle was fought, and thousands upon thousands were slain, without affording the least relief to Marius. Thus affairs continued, until only three of the great chieftains of Marius, with but four legions of troops, remained to battle in his cause. These, joining Telesinus, general of the Samnites, resolved obstinately to continue the war. Designing to force the lines, Telesinus came forward, at the head of his sixty thousand troops. Sylla, sending Pompey to attack him in the rear, prepared to assault him vigorously in front; but the cunning Samnite, taking advantage of the darkness, flew with all speed towards Rome; and with so much eagerness did he pursue his march, that in the morning the van of his army was seen from the hills about the city. The inhabitants, terrified by such a host of people, who, as they knew, held them in deadliest hatred, flew to the gates, and, closing them, prepared to defend their walls. Onward came Telesinus, concealing nothing of the evil which he intended towards a city hateful to all his nation. When close upon it, and ready for his operations, he walked through all

Sylla opposes him.

the ranks and lines of his army, exclaiming—
“We must cut down that forest where those ravenous wolves take shelter. Let fire and sword destroy all—spare nothing; mankind can never be free as long as any Romans remain alive.”

The people, under the command of Appius Claudius, sustained nobly the attack of Telesinus. No one hesitated to fight for their homes and property; and, although Appius was killed in the early part of the engagement, they succeeded in keeping off the Samnites, until Sylla should be able to come to their aid. This he did with all diligence. Telesinus met him near the city, and a battle for its possession at once ensued. It was a very bloody affair. Both armies fought with the courage of desperation. Victory or death appeared to be the motto of every soldier on the field, and for a while the contest seemed extremely doubtful. At last the Samnites, gaining a considerable advantage over the troops of Sylla, pushed them so hard that several of his cohorts and entire legions gave way and fled. With sword in hand, Sylla endeavored to arrest them; but the terror-stricken and disordered soldiers, giving no heed to his commands, rushed into the gates of Rome. The inhabitants, fearing that

Telesinus overcome—Preneste surrenders.

the Samnites would enter with them, shut, with all haste, the gates, and letting fall the portcullis, killed a great number of persons, and among them several senators in Sylla's army. All retreat being thus cut off to a large portion of his army, they were obliged to turn about and face the enemy, who were close upon them. But night coming on in the midst of the conflict, both parties were compelled to suspend, and Sylla retired to his camp. He ascertained, however, that the left wing of his army, under command of Crassus, had overcome the enemy, and covered the field with more than fifty thousand slain, among whom was Telesinus, the general of the Samnites. Eight thousand were also taken prisoners; and the next day Sylla caused all these to be shot to death with darts.

The inhabitants of Preneste, among whom Marius had taken refuge, opened their gates as soon as they heard of Sylla's victory, and Marius and a brother of Telesinus endeavored to escape by a subterraneous passage, but failing in their attempt, they killed each other, in order that they might not fall alive into the hands of the enemy. The people of the town were all put to death, except the women and the children; and Sylla, finding his enemies

Cruel Conduct of Sylla.

finally subdued, entered Rome at the head of his victorious troops.

But the glory which Sylla had acquired in war was destined to be tarnished by the monstrous acts of which he was author during the peace that followed. The remnant of the large armies that had opposed him, desirous of quarter, sent deputies to intercede with him. He replied, that he would spare all those who made themselves worthy of life by slaying their companions. These unfortunate men thereupon turned their arms against each other, and a terrible slaughter followed. Six thousand of them, however, escaped and came to Rome. These, Sylla caused to be shut up in the Hippodrome, and then sending his troops into the place, butchered them in cold blood. Soon after this, he proscribed eighty senators, sixteen hundred knights, and a large number of the richest citizens of Rome. For the murder of each of these, he offered a reward of two talents, and even paid the money to the very slaves for the assassination of their masters.

But his cruelty was not limited to the party of Marius. He permitted his friends and officers to revenge themselves upon all their private enemies, so that the streets of Rome continually flowed with blood. No one was sure

He declares himself Perpetual Dictator.

of living a single day, and every one dreaded to encounter the glance of this cruel monster. One man, C. Metellus, was, however, courageous enough to rise up in the midst of the Senate, and ask Sylla to put a stop to the misery of his fellow-citizens. "We do not ask you," said Metellus, "to forgive any of those whom you have resolved shall die; but pray you to free us from an uncertainty worse than death itself, by letting us know whom you design to spare." Sylla coolly replied, that he had not yet fixed upon the number of those whom he should allow to live; that he had proscribed such as his memory presented to him, and that he should continue to proscribe all that he could remember among his enemies.

As if maddened by the sight of the torrents of blood which he had shed, he now began to proscribe whole towns and nations, slaying such as he pleased, and stripping the inhabitants of their houses and lands, in order to reward the soldiers who assisted him in his work of death and desolation. He also declared himself perpetual Dictator, and thus changed, in fact, the government from a republican to a kingly form. All the ancient laws were abrogated—new ones were created. He made himself master of the public treasures,

Resigns voluntarily his Authority.

and disposed, according to his pleasure, of all the estates and fortunes of his fellow-citizens. It is true that he suffered the Senate, and most of the principal officers to remain, but their authority was absolutely nothing, and the inducements to seek them were almost wholly taken away.

But the most extraordinary thing concerning Sylla is yet to be related. Incredible as it may seem, this singular man, after having destroyed more than a hundred thousand of his fellow-citizens in the civil war; after having caused the massacre of ninety senators and twenty-six hundred knights, went into the Forum, and, in the presence of the assembled people, took from his own person the emblems of his office, sent away his lictors, dismissed his guards, and voluntarily resigned the office which he had usurped, and which he might have long continued to hold. It is natural to suppose that the fear of being torn to pieces by a deeply-injured people, would have deterred him from an act so bold as this. But his chief passion had been revenge, and this being at last satiated by the seas of blood which he had spilt, he cared for nothing more, not even power or life. The multitude were thunderstruck at what he did. They could not believe their eyes, and

Sylla's Death—His Epitaph.

gazed with silence and awe upon him as he stepped down from his tribunal, and mingled, like a private man, among the people, who, a moment before, bowed and trembled in his presence. And strange, too, as it may seem, this very prince of murderers walked forth alone into the open street, and proceeded without any molestation to his own house. It is said that one young man addressed to him some insulting language, which Sylla disdained to answer; but the Romans, generally, deemed this act of abdication the last and greatest effort of magnanimity and heroism. They never attempted to punish his murders, although he declared that he was ready and willing to be tried for any of his deeds. Not long after this event Sylla died, in his own bed, as quietly as the most peaceful citizen of the commonwealth could have desired. A few days before his death he wrote his own epitaph, the substance of which was—"That nobody had ever outdone him, either in obliging his friends, or in persecuting his enemies."

Dissensions and civil wars did not cease at the death of Sylla. The grave, indeed, had scarcely closed upon him, when the consul Lepidus undertook to make himself the master of the government. To attain his object, it was

necessary to make himself the leader of a party; but as Pompey, Metellus, Crassus, and even his colleague, Catulus, were chiefs of the patrician side, in whose favor he had declared himself, he believed that he should be more successful by going over to the party of Marius, whose leaders had been destroyed in the civil war.

At the expiration of his consulate, being appointed to the government of Gallia Cisalpina, he began at once to raise an army, and gained to his party the prætorians, Brutus and Perpenna. Inviting the people of Rome, and especially those belonging to the party of Marius, to join him, he marched towards the city, with the fond hope that he should become another Sylla. But Catulus, at the head of the legions and of all the nobility, charged him with so much vigor, that his army was cut to pieces, and he himself compelled to fly. Mortified by his ill success, and sorely grieved by certain private matters, he died soon after, and with him his party fell. Brutus, one of his coadjutors, having been overcome by Pompey, was assassinated a few days after by orders of that general; and Perpenna, the remaining chief, thus finding himself at the head of thirty-two thousand men, marched into Spain, according

The Spanish War—The Servile War.

to the example of Sertorius, a general of great fame, who yet maintained the party of Marius at Lusitania.

The Senate, in order to preserve those provinces, sent Pompey, with a large army, against these two generals. A great many battles took place, without much advantage on either side, until the death of Sertorius, which was occasioned by the jealousy of Perpenna. This unskilful general was then easily beaten by Pompey, who, ordering his head to be cut off, put an end to the Spanish war.

In the mean time a very dangerous war had been excited in Rome by one Spartacus, a Thracian gladiator, who, with seventy comrades, had escaped from imprisonment in Capua. Having been joined by a multitude of runaway slaves and peasantry from the neighborhood, he fought and gained a number of considerable battles. Finding himself, finally, at the head of sixty thousand men, he occasioned so much alarm, that the two consuls were sent out with two legions to subdue him. These he succeeded in defeating, and, with his victorious troops, was on his way to Rome, when Crassus, at the head of a powerful army, went out to meet him. Reaching Spartacus near Rhegium, the Roman general surrounded

Spartacus overcome—Crassus and Pompey.

him with a ditch, six miles in length ; but Spartacus evaded him by night, and continued his march towards the city. Crassus, however, determined that he should not thus escape ; and following closely after, compelled him to engage, and finally overcame him after an obstinate conflict. Sixty thousand of his followers were slain, six thousand were taken prisoners, and he himself, it is said, fell, fighting on his knees upon a heap of fallen enemies.

A large number of these troops of Spartacus escaping, fled into the neighboring mountains, where Pompey, on his return from Spain, met with, and easily defeated them. By this achievement he sought to raise his own glory, to the disparagement of Crassus ; and this, together with other matters, was the cause of the jealousy which existed between them, when, subsequently, they were both elevated to the consulship. This jealousy was, however, the means of giving great pleasure to the people of Rome. Crassus, to win their affection, gave them an entertainment upon a thousand long, and well-spread, tables. He also distributed corn enough to all the populace to maintain their families three whole months. Pompey, on the other hand, to outdo Crassus, restored to the Tribunes all the authority of which they

had been deprived by Sylla, and by this measure made himself the idol of the people, who, during the war with the Pirates, which occurred soon after, conferred upon him such unlimited powers, that he might easily have become sole sovereign of the commonwealth.

The success which attended him in this war, was the reason for appointing him to the command of the army that had been sent out against Mithridates; and the decree that gave him this, gave him also the government of Asia, and the superintendency of the vast naval power, with which he had subdued the Pirates. At the time of his departure, Rome, then the mistress of the world, seemed to be in the enjoyment of a profound peace. So far as external appearances could be an indication, union subsisted among her citizens, and an unusual prosperity in all her affairs. But beneath all this seeming tranquillity, a secret agitation was going on; and new parties and new schemes were in process of formation, which could bring about nothing short of anarchy and despotism.

At the head of one of these dangerous parties was Lucius Sergius Catiline, a descendant of an illustrious patrician family, and one of the ministers of the cruelty of Sylla, to whose cause

Character of Catiline.

he had ever been devoted. Murder, rapine, and conflagration had been the first deeds and pleasures of this formidable man; and, withal, he possessed such powers of dissimulation as enabled him to throw a veil over his horrid vices, and render himself agreeable to the just and good. Of the many terrible crimes which he is said to have committed, that of the murder of his wife and son may be regarded as a specimen of such as are not too disgusting to relate.

At a time when Rome had grown rich by the spoils of so many conquered nations; when ambition, luxury, effeminacy, and all the vices inseparable from wealth were exerting their baneful influences, it is easy to imagine that a man like Catiline could find those who would be willing to second him in any plot which he might form, either against private or public interests. Indeed, there were hundreds of young men, who, having consumed the patrimony of their ancestors in extravagance and riotous living, were ready to do any thing which could relieve them from their enormous debts, and promote the gratification of their depraved desires. As they could, through the high offices of the State, find every facility to attain their wishes, they sought to fill them with persons of

Conspiracy against the Government.

their own character. But being baffled in their efforts to do this, there were some of them who determined to assassinate the principal officers of the State, and seize upon the government.

Catiline, foremost in every thing evil, was, of course, a prominent leader upon this occasion; and, through the influence which he could use as a member of the Senate, he contrived to draw into the plot a great number of senators, knights, and notable men, who, from different motives, were willing to join him. Among these were Lentulus, an unprincipled man, who had been consul with Marius; and Cethegus, formerly a Tribune of the People, whom he governed at his own pleasure. So, also, in this great conspiracy, were many women of the best families in Rome, as, for instance, Sempronia, so remarkable for her high birth, lively wit, undaunted courage, and incomparable beauty. Indeed, as to numbers, it was sufficient for almost any purpose; for in it were engaged all those Roman youth who had ruined themselves by their licentious courses, all those who aspired to posts in the government, and all those who desired to be revenged upon their too powerful enemies. To these, Catiline made the most extravagant promises,

on condition that they would elevate him to supreme power.

A conspiracy, in which so many were engaged, could not remain secret for a great length of time. Sooner or later, some one must prove a traitor; and, fortunately for the Roman people, it engaged the attention of such a man as Cicero. In a short time the whole city talked about it; but nothing definite was known, except that Catiline was at the head of a large party, who were aiming at some great revolution in the government. Many supposed that it was only the overthrow of Cicero, who had been preferred to him for the consulship. But Cicero was better informed. From the moment that he discovered that there was a secret combination in the city, he made every effort to discover those who were engaged in it, and what were their designs. He ascertained their places of meeting, and finally succeeded in introducing spies among them, who reported faithfully to him all their proceedings. To his surprise and sorrow, he learned that it was the intention of the desperate men to set fire to the city in several places, and, during the confusion that would necessarily follow, to murder the chief men of the Senate in their very houses. It was also a part of their plan to cause the

troops then under the command of Manlius to advance, in order to make themselves masters of Rome and of the government.

While all this was going on, news was unexpectedly brought that Pompey, having subdued Mithridates, was returning to Italy with a victorious army. This was sufficient to throw Catiline and all his party into the utmost consternation. They were speedily called together at night, in a private part of M. Lecca's house. Various plans were suggested for carrying their purposes into immediate execution; and finally it was resolved, on the night preceding the Saturnalia, to set fire to the city in a hundred different places; to cut the water-pipes, in order to prevent the extinguishment of the fire; to murder the whole Senate, and to seize Pompey's children, and hold them as hostages against his power and resentment. Thereupon Catiline was to place himself at the head of the forces of Manlius, and settle his authority in the State. Cethegus, and a Roman knight named Cornelius, volunteered to go and stab Cicero in his own house.

The correctness of this report being sufficiently established, on the following morning, by the appearance of Cethegus at Cicero's door, this prudent consul, at once, convened the Senate,

to whom he communicated the whole plot, stating that he did not yet think it a proper time to name the persons by whom he had been informed. So great, however, was the confidence reposed in his probity, that without asking him to prove his allegations, he and his colleague were fully empowered to use all means necessary to protect the commonwealth.

Without delay, and as quietly as possible, the greatest preparations were made to defend the city. Guards were stationed in different parts to thwart the purposes of the incendiaries. Bodies of troops were raised and placed conveniently for action, and every thing was done which the occasion seemed to require. Meanwhile, a packet of letters, directed by some of the conspirators to different individuals, falling into the hands of Crassus, was brought by him into the Senate and there opened and read. They contained the whole plan of the conspiracy; and the persons for whom they were intended, were warned, if they valued their lives, to depart at once from Rome.

These letters produced a great sensation in the Senate; and while they were deliberating upon them, Catiline walked in and took his seat, with an air as innocent as that worn by the most upright man among them. But this

Cicero accuses Catiline before the Senate.

was more than Cicero could endure. Rising from the seat in which he was presiding over that august assembly, he fixed his eyes upon the guilty Catiline, and with that voice by which he was accustomed to astonish all who heard him, he exclaimed :

“How long, O Catiline, dost thou design to abuse our patience? How long are we yet to be the object of thy fury? How far dost thou intend to carry thy guilty audaciousness? Dost thou not perceive, by the continual watch all over the city, by the terrified looks of the people, and by the angry countenance of the senators, that thy pernicious designs are discovered? Faithful eyes are upon all thy proceedings; thou canst not hold any council so secret, but that I hear of it: I am present there myself; I am present to thy very thoughts. Dost thou fancy that I am ignorant of what passed, last night, at M. Lecca’s house? Didst thou not there distribute employments, and divide all Italy into shares with thy accomplices? Some are to take the field under the command of Manlius, and others to stay in the city, to fire it in a hundred different places at a time. During the disorder and tumult occasioned by so general a fire, the consuls, and most of the senators, are to be massacred in their own

Catiline attempts to answer Cicero.

houses. The Senate, that august and sacred assembly, is informed of the most minute circumstances of the plot; yet does Catiline live; not only lives, but is one among us, and looks on us as so many sacrifices. While I am now speaking, he is marking out those whom he designs for death; yet we are so patient, or rather so weak, that we are less intent on the method how to punish his crimes, than how we shall preserve ourselves from his fury."

Catiline, rising with a sneer upon his face, begged the Senate that they would not listen to the invectives of this enemy and low-born upstart, who, for the sake of getting for himself a name, could thus injure a high-born senator, by such unmitigated lies. But he was not allowed much time to speak. His guilt was already too apparent to be denied, and he was forced to stop in his harangue by a general murmuring, which finally broke out in loud and repeated accusations against him as an incendiary, a parricide, and an enemy of his country. His face pale with anger, and his eyes flashing with rage, he rushed from the senate-chamber, crying out, that, since they had provoked him to the utmost, he would not fall alone, but would involve in his own fate those who had sought his ruin.

Calling together Lentulus, Cethegus, and some of the other conspirators, he informed them of what had happened, and, urging them to lose no time in putting Cicero to death, he put himself at the head of three hundred armed men, and went directly to the camp of Manlius. Lentulus and the other chiefs set to work, in the mean time, to draw into their plot the ambassadors of the Allobroges who were then in Rome, making vain efforts to procure the discharge of their nation from the enormous taxes which they owed to the Roman State. The conspirators told these ambassadors that if they would join Catiline, every surety would be given them of a general discharge of their debts.

The ambassadors listened with attention to these proposals, but concluded, upon consulting together, that they would gain more in the end by making a revelation of this scheme to the Senate. Going therefore to Cicero, they obtained all the promises that they could desire, and then returning to the conspirators, pretended to accept their offers, and received a written agreement from them signed by Lentulus and the principal chiefs of Catiline. With this, retracing their steps to Cicero, they informed him that on the following night they should proceed, under an escort, to the camp of Cati-

line, with letters to him containing the plan of the conspiracy. Acting upon this information, Cicero sent a sufficient number of armed men to intercept these Allobroges; and, having seized the papers in their possession, he was furnished with all the evidence necessary for causing the immediate arrest of Lentulus, Cethegus, and other prominent coadjutors of Catiline.

The Senate was at once convened; and the conspirators, being convicted by their own handwriting, were severally carried to separate prisons. In order to prevent the possibility of their escape, Cicero determined that the Senate should decide, at once, concerning them. Each senator being accordingly asked to give his opinion, the conspirators were condemned to death by the consent of all except Julius Cæsar, who made a long speech in favor of sparing their lives until Catiline should be vanquished. Sentence of death was pronounced upon them, and without waiting for its confirmation by an assembly of the people, Cicero caused them to be executed within an hour afterwards.

The news of their death fell like a thunderbolt, scattering the multitude of their accomplices still in the city; and when it reached

The Destruction of the Conspirators.

the camp of Catiline, many persons who had been attracted to his standard by the hope of plunder, fled in the utmost terror. But, in no-wise daunted, the bold conspirator made new levies of troops, and only seemed more eager to drink the blood of his countrymen.

Defeated in the plan which he had formed for taking possession of Rome, he determined to pass over into Gaul. But in this he was also disappointed. A powerful army was sent out to cut off his retreat; and, finding himself soon surrounded by his foes, he was compelled to come to battle. The fight was long and obstinate. The soldiers of Catiline knew that they must either conquer or die, and accordingly they neither gave nor asked quarter. As an inevitable consequence, they were all slain upon the field; and Catiline himself was killed as he stood fighting upon a heap of his fallen enemies.

When it was known from how dangerous a plot the city had been saved through the unwearied efforts of Cicero, nothing could exceed the praise bestowed upon him by all the citizens. His house was surrounded by people who came to do him honor. Even the women put lights in their windows in token of their gratitude. Almost ready to worship him, every

Honor paid to Cicero.

one declared that he was the second founder of Rome and the father of his country. And, without doubt, he merited the character given to him by the Emperor Augustus, in these words: "He was a good citizen, who loved his country sincerely."

JULIUS CÆSAR.

FROM 62 TO 35 B. C.

POMPEY and Cæsar—Cunning of Cæsar—His Ill-treatment of Cicero—His Conquests—His Love of Money—Jealousy of Pompey—Pompey made Consul—Cæsar demands the same Office and fails—He threatens Rome, and is declared the Enemy of the Commonwealth—He marches against the City—Defeats Pompey—Is made Consul and Dictator—Urged to assume the Title of King—Conspiracy formed against him—His Assassination—Its Consequences—Marc Antony—Cæsar's Will—Antony's Oration—Octavius returns to Rome—Antony's Jealousy—Octavius' Success—He is made Consul—The Conspirators proscribed—Octavius and Antony reconciled—The Triumviri—The Battle of Philippi—The End of the Commonwealth.





ASSASSINATION OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

XI.

JULIUS CÆSAR.

BEYOND the mere name of a Republic, the government of Rome had by this time little enough to boast. The whole administration was limited to a few noble families, who passed the consular dignity about to one another as they pleased. The sovereignty of the people was almost gone; and, except in a very few men like Cato, Cicero, and Catullus, there was little honesty or patriotism to be found in any one.

Two remarkable men were at this time dividing the attention of the whole Roman people. One of them was Cneus Pompey, an illustrious general, who had won laurels in every part of the known world, and who, in consideration of his splendid achievements, had received the surname of *Magnus* (Great). He was a man of untainted morals, kind, mild, and humane;

Pompey and Cæsar.

and, if he was not possessed of true patriotism, he had not any of that ambition which may lead one to become a destroyer of freedom. That any one should pretend to an equal share of the glory which he had acquired was highly offensive to him; and this was, doubtless, the cause of the enmity which sprang up between him and Julius Cæsar, a general of undoubted valor, exalted courage, and wonderful ability. It could not be otherwise than that two parties should spring up in the commonwealth, led respectively by these two illustrious rivals. Pompey, who was at the head of the Senate, drew after him, naturally, those who sympathized with the nobility of Rome; and Cæsar, who could be first in no other position, undertook to revive the party of Marius, which was really that of the plebeians. Having been publicly impeached for causing the statue of Marius to be secretly placed in the capitol, he defended himself with so much eloquence, that he not only secured his own absolution, but also procured the recall of those who had been banished during the dictatorship of Sylla.

Pompey did not, however, share the undivided favor of the Senate. In the wealthy and ambitious Crassus, he had an enemy and a rival in the government, dreaded, at first, even

more than Cæsar; so that while he had to contend against the growing popularity of the latter, he was also obliged to guard against being supplanted by the former. But Cæsar, a man of far more shrewdness than either, knew that his success depended upon diverting their attention from him, and causing as much mutual dread as possible between them. So well did he succeed in this, that he obtained, through their united influence, the consulate; but he had no sooner arrived to this dignity, than he managed, by a master-piece of cunning, to create an enmity between Pompey and the Senate, and between the Senate and the people. This he contrived to do by undertaking to revive the Agrarian law, which Pompey and Crassus consented to advocate, and which their respective friends in the Senate could not fail to oppose. The passage of the law was procured; but Cæsar alone gained the applauses of the people for whose benefit it was made.

Thus Pompey, distrusted and cast out by his patrician friends, became, in a measure, dependent upon his rival Cæsar, who, knowing too well the importance of keeping him quiet, obtained for him the government of both Spains, while he gave that of Syria to Crassus, and at the same time secured for himself the govern-

His Ill-treatment of Cicero.

ment of Illyricum and Gaul for the space of five years. So powerful, indeed, did he become, that he was able to use force towards his enemies and all those who dared to oppose him. Cato, at his command, was put under arrest; and Bibulus, his colleague in the consulship, was driven out of the Forum by the people; his fasces were broken, his lictors beaten, and he himself forced to lie a long time concealed in order to save his life. The great Lucullus, who had so gloriously conquered the powerful Mithridates, was compelled to fall at Cæsar's feet in a full assembly, and then to retire from public business. Nor did Cæsar even hesitate to unite himself with the infamous Clodius in order to ruin the great and good Cicero, whom, for a frivolous reason, he caused to be impeached before an assembly of the people; and when this excellent man found himself abandoned by all his former friends, now the creatures of Cæsar, he quitted Rome by night, and retired into Greece. His houses, both in the city and country, were immediately razed to the ground, and his goods sold at auction by the common officers of the law.

Cæsar, on going to take possession of the government of Gallia Cisalpina, which, at the close of his consulship, he chose for himself,

set out at the head of an immense army, with the intention of conquering the whole country, in hopes that he should thus be furnished with great treasures. The vast number of battles which he fought during this absence of ten years from Rome, and the splendid victories which he achieved, raised him to the highest rank among the captains of the Roman people. The Helvetians, after the most obstinate fighting, were driven by him into their mountains; the Belgians were subjected to his authority. In short, he conquered all Gaul, and then, crossing the sea, set up his standard in Great Britain. Eight hundred cities are said to have yielded either to the force, or terror, of his arms. Three hundred different nations submitted to his laws; and of three millions of men whom he defeated in battle, one million were slain and another million taken prisoners. But with so many brilliant achievements, he was guilty of a thousand disgraceful acts. His immoderate ambition and insatiable desire of acquiring riches, caused him to set a price upon every thing which could bring him money. Places, governments, wars, alliances, all had their value in gold; and the very temples of the gods, and the lands of the Roman allies, were compelled to pour their treasures at his

His Love of Money—He acquires Friends.

feet. But the splendor of his victories, and the gratitude and love of his well-paid countrymen, united to give to his robberies the name of great political actions; and the gods themselves were thanked in solemn form for the sacrileges which he had successfully committed against them.

It is not strange that Cæsar should love money, for, certainly, no man better understood its value. With it, he, no doubt, purchased a great deal of that strong attachment which his soldiers testified for him, and to which he was chiefly indebted for his extraordinary success. Their fortunes depended upon his own, and he never failed to reward them generously from the treasures which they enabled him to accumulate. With an eye ever upon the future, he assigned lands and possessions to those who served him with most fidelity. He paid the debts of his principal officers; and caused all to regard him as an honest steward, intrusted with riches ever at their command, while faithful and valorous in the discharge of their duties. But his soldiers and officers were not the sole recipients of his boundless wealth. The Senate itself was in his pay, and the chief offices in the commonwealth were the purchased possessions of his creatures.

The growing influence of Cæsar could not fail to attract the attention of his rival Pompey, who blushed at the thought that he had been outdone by a man to whom he had ever supposed himself superior. Crassus, who had always held the balance of power in his own hands, was no longer living; and now it was evident that a struggle for supremacy must soon ensue between these two leaders of the Roman people. Though still at the head of his government in Gaul, Cæsar was able to carry on his operations in the centre of Rome. His candidates for office came openly with money in their hands to purchase, but were very often beaten back by force and violence. So dreadful were these disputes, on some occasions, that no elections could be held, and Rome was actually, at one time, during eight months, deprived of magistrates. Pompey, doubtless, did his share in causing this confusion; and his friends took the opportunity to declare that such a state of things demanded the immediate creation of a Dictator, and, at the same time, shrewdly named him for the office. The wise and good Cato, fearing for the safety of the Republic, declaimed loudly against such a course, and, at his suggestion, Pompey was simply clothed with the power of

Cæsar demands the Office—His Failure.

sole consul, amenable to the people for all his actions on the expiration of his office.

Cæsar, taking advantage of a precedent thus established, demanded, in his turn, to be made sole consul, and likewise the continuation of his governments abroad. But his proposition was opposed by the adherents of Pompey, on the ground that custom required a candidate for the consulship to be present, in person, at Rome during the time of an election. The office was consequently conferred on Marcellus and Lentulus, two of the most prominent of Pompey's friends. Pompey himself made no open opposition to Cæsar; but, as he began to feel some dread of the fortune and valor of this great commander, he tried, in a secret manner, to deprive him of his government of Gaul. Measures were concerted with the Senate to appoint some one as his successor, and every thing possible was done to bring it about.

In the mean time, Cæsar, not ignorant of what was going on at home, wrote several times to the Senate, requiring that they should either continue him in his government, or allow him to be a candidate for the consulate, notwithstanding his absence from Rome. But his opponents succeeding in opposing his demands, he passed the Alps at the head of one of his

He threatens Rome—Is declared an Enemy.

trusty legions, and halted at Ravenna. From this place he sent to the Senate one of his lieutenants, intrusted with letters, in which, relating in a lofty manner all his exploits, he declared that, if justice was not done him, he would, in a few days, visit Rome, for the purpose of revenging his private injuries, as well as those suffered by his country.

This threat roused the whole Senate against him; and, appointing Lucius Domitius his successor in Gaul, they passed a decree that he should be prosecuted as an enemy of the commonwealth. Mark Antony, Curio, and Cassius, by virtue of their office as Tribunes, opposed earnestly this decree; but being driven forcibly out of the Senate, they went in all haste, disguised, to the camp of Cæsar.

Thus, again, the commonwealth was divided against itself, through the ambition of two men, who sought to subserve their own private interests, by pretending to take up arms in defence of the laws and liberty. It is true that Pompey had upon his side a greater appearance of justice, and that he was commissioned by the authorities of Rome to oppose Cæsar in their behalf; but Cæsar had upon his side the affections of the people, and he was, moreover, most powerful and most secure. It was, how-

Cæsar marches against Rome.

ever, with great reluctance that he resolved to march against his fellow-countrymen; and when he reached the river Rubicon, which divided his own government from the rest of Italy, he hesitated for some time, in view of the ruin which must certainly fall upon Rome if he passed over the little stream. "If I defer any longer the crossing of this river," said he to those about him, "I am undone; and if I do cross it, how many people shall I make wretched!" But it being, after all, more difficult for him to endure his own injuries unrevenged than to see his country all in desolation, he plunged into the river at the head of his troops, and crossing it, exclaimed—"It is done: the die is cast!"

With the rapidity which always characterized the movements of this wonderful soldier, he marched directly to Rimini, and made himself master of the place. The news of this achievement fell like a thunderbolt upon Rome. Already they fancied that his victorious legions were at their very gates; and Pompey, the two consuls, and a large number of senators, finding themselves entirely without troops, fled in terror from the city, leaving their wives and children to the mercy of their enemy. Onward came the victorious general.

His Pursuit of Pompey.

The gates of the defenceless city opened to receive him, and its immense treasures were seized, and divided among his faithful followers. Then began his terrible pursuit of Pompey, whom he seemed determined to hunt, with all his adherents, from every lurking-place upon the earth. He chased him from one part of Italy to another; subjected, within two months, every inch of its territory to his authority; then following his rival into Greece, finally met him, surrounded by an immense army on the plains of Pharsalia, where, falling upon his troops with a terrible slaughter, and even sacking his camp, he compelled him to fly for his life, on foot, and in a pitiful disguise. And at night, the great Pompey, who, for thirty-four years, had been used to conquer and carry all before him, was obliged to sleep in the miserable cabin of a fisherman.

Wandering from one place to another, he was finally induced to proceed to Egypt, where he was promised a favorable reception from the young Ptolemy, whose father had received benefits at his hands. But the base ministers of this youthful king, hearing of his approach, determined to seize and put him to death. On his arrival, a boat was sent from the shore to bring him from the vessel. Embracing his

Death of Pompey—Cæsar Consul.

wife and son, who had accompanied him, he stepped into it, though not without some fear of treachery; and, before reaching the land, he was shamefully murdered, and his headless body was left naked upon the beach.

The death of Pompey completed the fall of all his party, and Cæsar thus became the master of the world. On his return to Rome, he was appointed, by a decree of the Senate, consul for ten years, and perpetual Dictator. The name of *Imperator* was given to him, together with the august title of *Father of his Country*; and his person was declared sacred and inviolable. Every honor and dignity, in fact, were heaped upon him, so that nothing but the title was wanting to make him a king. This he would have unhesitatingly assumed, had he not known the hatred in which the Romans held the name. But his assumption of this title was precisely what his secret enemies desired; and the senators who had conferred so many honors on him, sought thereby only to render him odious, in order that they might the sooner bring about his ruin. He was even urged to place upon his head the crown; and when he was preparing himself to set out upon an expedition against the Parthians, the books of the Sibyls were produced to prove to him and to

the people that the Parthians could never be vanquished, unless the Romans had a king for their general.

So zealous were the friends and flatterers of Cæsar in the prosecution of this matter, that a day was fixed upon on which it should be settled by a decree of the Senate; and it was proposed that in Rome, and throughout all Italy, he should be styled Dictator, but that he should be acknowledged a king, and take upon himself that title, in respect of all foreign nations subject to the Roman empire.

From this moment it was agreed, in private cabals, that the liberty of Rome could be preserved only by the death of the Dictator. Marcus Junius Brutus, whom Cæsar loved as his own son, and whom he held in the tenderest friendship, was at the head of this conspiracy. With him were Cassius, a zealous republican, and Casca, and more than sixty senators. The day upon which the Senate was to meet for the purpose of giving Cæsar the title of king, was the ides of March, and upon this day the conspirators determined to carry their plot into execution. A soothsayer had warned Cæsar to beware the ides of March; and his wife, disturbed by a frightful dream, besought him with tears not to go to the Senate-house.

Death of Cæsar.

To please her, he called his friend Mark Antony, and told him to dismiss the Senate; but Decimus Brutus, one of the conspirators, succeeded in overcoming his apprehensions, and he proceeded to the capitol. On his way thither, a note was placed in his hands, giving him an account of the conspiracy; but being crowded on every side, he put it by without reading it.

Scarcely had he entered the capitol, when all the conspirators came around him, as if to do him honor. According to an agreement among them, Attilius Cimber, one of their number, fell down at his feet to demand the pardon of his brother, who was banished. Cæsar refusing it, the conspirator laid hold of the bottom of his robe, and pulled it so hard as to make him bow his head. Casca then drew his dagger, and pierced the Dictator in the neck. "Accursed Casca, what doest thou?" he exclaimed, as he seized the assassin and dashed him to the ground. "Die, tyrant!" shouted all the conspirators, now rushing upon him from every side. With all the power which he possessed, he at once defended himself against his numerous foes, until perceiving among them his beloved Brutus, he exclaimed—"And thou, too, my son!" and then, cover-

ing his face with his mantle, fell, pierced with twenty-three wounds, at the foot of Pompey's statue.

The bloody work was no sooner ended, than the conspirators rushed into the Senate-chamber, and exhorted the senators to give their approval to an act that had restored liberty to their country. But the senators, confounded by the dreadful tragedy, fled to their houses, not knowing what they had to hope or fear. Then, still holding their bloody daggers in their hands, the conspirators flew into the streets and proclaimed that they had killed the king of Rome, and the tyrant of their country. They placed before them a herald, who, on the point of a javelin, carried a hat as a signal of liberty; and thus marching along, exhorted the people to lend their aid in restoring the commonwealth. But the people not appearing by their conduct to favor what had been done, they retired to the capitol, grieved that the death of a usurper was about to bring fresh calamities upon the commonwealth.

Antony, whom Cæsar had made consul, hid himself when he first heard of his protector's fate; but on learning the disposition of the people, he resolved to revenge his death; and causing Cæsar's papers and money to be car-

Mark Antony—Cæsar's Will.

ried to his own house, he summoned the Senate, in order that they might determine whether Cæsar had been a usurper or a lawful magistrate, and whether those that killed him deserved to be rewarded or punished.

After a great deal of discussion, conducted with abundance of caution, it was finally agreed that no one should be prosecuted for Cæsar's death, and that all the ordinances which he had made should continue in full force. Antony was indignant at this decision of the Senate, but, dissembling his feelings, he determined that the conspirators should not go unpunished. He had Cæsar's will in his possession; and he knew full well, that when it should be read in the hearing of the people, they would rise in anger against his murderers. After a great deal of difficulty, he obtained the permission of the Senate to read it at Cæsar's funeral, at which a vast concourse of the citizens were present. Every one listened intently to the words of the great man, who had so endeared himself to them by his munificence when alive; and on finding that he had not forgotten to leave them something at his death, they were filled with gratitude and moved to tears. To every citizen he gave the sum of seventy-five Attic drachmas, and, more-

Antony's Funeral Oration—Terror of the Conspirators.

over, left his magnificent gardens to the people. Even to some of the principal conspirators he had bequeathed the most splendid presents, and had appointed them guardians to his nephew Octavius, whom he adopted as his son and heir.

But it was during the delivery of his funeral oration, that Antony aroused their feelings most. When he gave them a narrative of Cæsar's victories, and enumerated his many virtues, they made the Forum ring with their hearty plaudits. But when he pointed to his corpse, and told them how he died, they frowned, and groaned, and muttered their resentment. And then, when he held up Cæsar's bloody robe, and showed them the many rents made in it by the daggers of his foes, their rage overleaped all bounds. They screamed for vengeance, and some of them, flying to the houses of the conspirators, swore that they would, with fire and sword, sacrifice them to Cæsar's ghost. In danger of losing their lives, the conspirators left the city as quietly and speedily as possible.

By insensible degrees, Antony advanced towards the sovereign power; and the authority of the government seemed to be wholly in his hands, when young Octavius, Cæsar's grand-

Octavius returns to Rome—Antony's Jealousy.

nephew, arrived in Rome to take possession of his inheritance. This young man had been sent by his uncle to Apollonia, a city on the coast of Epirus, to complete his studies; and, at the time of Cæsar's death, he was scarcely eighteen years of age. The sad event afflicted him sorely, and he resolved to revenge it, and to maintain the honor of his adoption at the peril of his life. Arriving at Brundisium, the usual place of entrance and departure for travellers to and from Greece and Asia, he assumed the name of Cæsar, was introduced with much formality into the town, and made the master of it. Marching boldly to Rome, he was joined by large numbers of his adopted father's friends, freedmen, and even slaves. Money and every thing was poured in upon him; and, when he came near the city, the magistrates, officers of the army, and people thronged the gates to meet him. Every one came out to do him honor, except the ambitious Antony, who would not so much as send the least of his servants to compliment him in his name.

After young Octavius had caused his adoption to be confirmed in the most solemn manner, he went to Antony, begged his friendship, and demanded the inheritance left to him by

Cæsar, in order to pay the legacies mentioned in his will. Antony, at first, refused to acknowledge his claims, but afterwards changed his demeanor, when he found the influence of Octavius continually increasing, and his own proportionably diminishing. For this increasing influence, Octavius was in a great measure indebted to the large sacrifice which he made of his personal property, in order to pay his uncle's legacies to the people, who unanimously declared in his favor, and against Antony.

The murderers of Cæsar, supported by the Senate, and strengthened by large armies, were much in the way of the ambitious Antony; and he would have gladly united with the great man's nephew in destroying them, had he not feared that Octavius would grasp at the sovereign power. This power being the only mark at which he himself aimed, Octavius became to him no less odious than Brutus or Cassius. But the Senate hating them both; feared the haughty Antony more than the modest Octavius; and for the sake of crushing the former they were willing to flatter and honor the latter. A seat was given to him in the Senate; and he was induced to join his forces with the consuls Hirtius and Pansa against Antony, who had refused to comply with a de-

The Senate opposes Antony.

cree which required him to remove his army from Gallia Cisalpina, where he was fighting with Decimus Brutus.

By this movement of the Senate, Antony was nearly ruined; but he managed to escape from the legions of Pansa and Octavius, and passed the Alps, in order to join his old friend Lepidus, who was still in Gaul, and with the hope that he might also secure the aid of Plautus and Asinius Pollio, former generals of Cæsar, who were all in command of numerous armies. Lepidus refused at first to join him, under pretence that he feared to offend the Senate; but Antony, marching straight up to his army, contrived by means of bribes and promises to rob him of his command; and afterwards secured also the other armies.

In the mean time the consul Pansa, being at the point of death, sent for Octavius, and, earnestly entreating him to agree with Antony, placed under his authority two legions, which had formerly been in his command. These legions the Senate ordered him to disband, under pretence that the Republic had no further occasion for them. But Octavius, in order that he might have the privilege of keeping them on foot, offered himself as a candidate for the consulship. Finding, however, that the Senate

Octavius consul—The Conspirators proscribed.

were determined to prevent his election, he marched his forces towards Rome, when the terrified senators not only chose him consul, but caused Quintus Pedius, one of his relatives, to be made his colleague.

Immediately upon taking possession of the consulate, he caused the impeachment of every one who had been engaged in the murder of Cæsar, and condemned all the conspirators to lose their lives for not presenting themselves for trial. But Brutus and Cassius, their chiefs, being at the head of twenty legions, he concluded that it would be impossible to destroy them as long as Antony continued to oppose him. Resolving, therefore, to become reconciled with him, he induced his colleague to propose to the Senate to recall Antony, on the ground that it would be to the advantage of the commonwealth. To this many of the senators were not at all inclined, but they were forced to yield; and the decrees against him being repealed, Octavius sent to him a proposition, that they should unite their forces, and march against Brutus and Cassius. Antony beginning to despair of making himself sole master of the sovereign power, determined to share it with Octavius; and, in accordance with an arrangement made by their mutual friends,

they met, in company with Lepidus, alone, in a little desert island formed by the river Panaro, near Modena. They first embraced; and then all three sat down, with no one to overhear the agreement made between them concerning the disposition of the government of Rome.

This conference lasted three days, but the details of it are not known to any one. It is said, however, that they debated what form of government they should settle in the commonwealth, and in what way they should share the sovereign power. Cæsar agreed to abdicate the consulate for the rest of that year, and invest Ventidius, one of Antony's lieutenants, therewith; and Cæsar, Lepidus, and Antony, by the title of Triumviri, were to possess the sovereign power for five years. After this, they divided the provinces, the legions, and the treasures of the commonwealth between them, as if all these had been their patrimony. But as a great deal of money was necessary for them to carry out their plans, they resolved to make themselves easy on this score by the proscription of the wealthiest and most powerful citizens of Rome. A list of them was drawn up, among whom were Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, and Lucius Cæsar, the uncle of Antony, and Cicero, the tried friend of young Oc-

tavius. Three hundred senators, and more than two thousand knights, were involved in this horrible proscription.

Then began the war with the commonwealth, which now had no existence save in the camp of the conspirators. Cæsar and Antony went together with their legions into Macedonia, where Brutus and Cassius were endeavoring to keep alive the last spark of Roman liberty. The hostile armies met near the town of Philippi. For a while nothing but skirmishes took place, in which the conspirators were always most successful. But the day finally arrived whereon the fortune and destiny of the commonwealth were decided. It was a furious battle. The plains of Philippi were deluged with blood, and on them were buried the remains of liberty, with the bodies of Brutus, of Cassius, and of the chiefs of the conspirators, and the last of the genuine Romans. From this gory field sprang forth the Empire. Upon it, all the friends of the Republic lay, and Octavius felt that he could now reign alone. The ruin of his colleague, Lepidus, was easily accomplished; and then a quarrel, and finally a fight near Actium, left Octavius the master of the world.

For a long time this successful man, though

Honor paid to Octavius.

indifferent soldier, hesitated whether he should assume the title of king, or reign under some other name. Finally he resolved to retain the sovereign power, and to cause himself to be styled *AUGUSTUS Imperator*, a title sometimes given to victorious generals, and to which no odium was yet attached. In the mean time he still allowed in Rome the offices of consul, prætor, ædile, and other republican magistrates, but made them all subservient to his private ends and interests. During his reign, peace and plenty flourished anew, and the temple of Janus was closed for the third time since the foundation of Rome. He adorned the city in such a manner that it was truly said, that "he found it of brick, and left it of marble." The people erected altars to him, and, by a decree of the Senate, the month Sextiles was, in honor of him, called *August*. But all that further relates to him and to his successors, will be found in the volume entitled *THE EMPIRE OF ROME*.

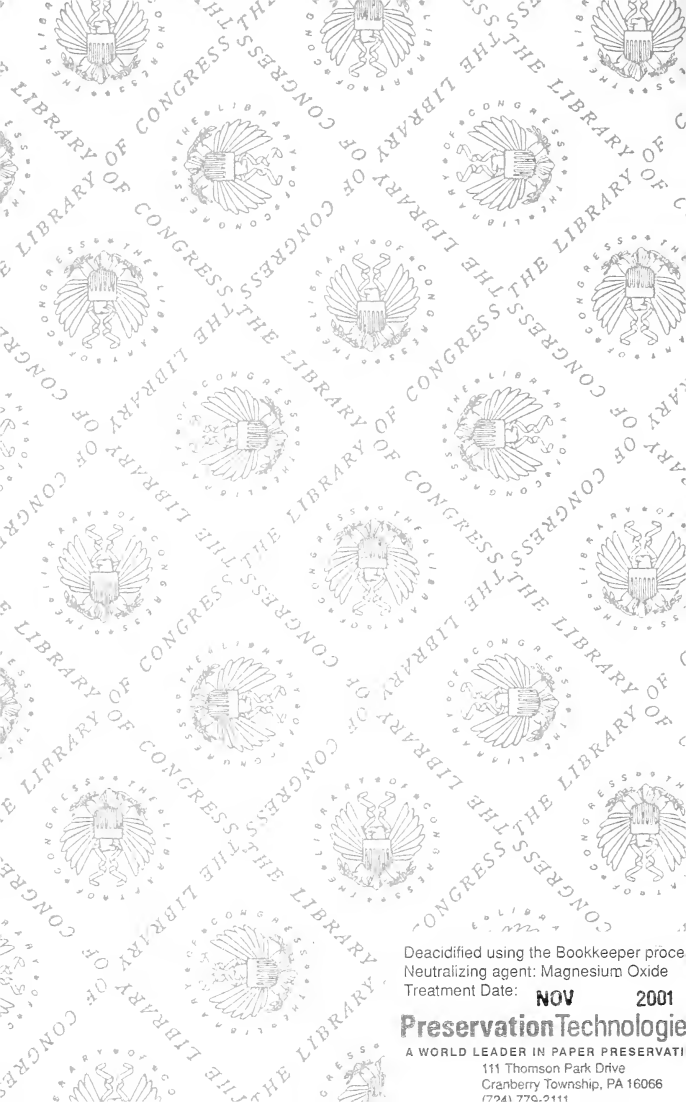
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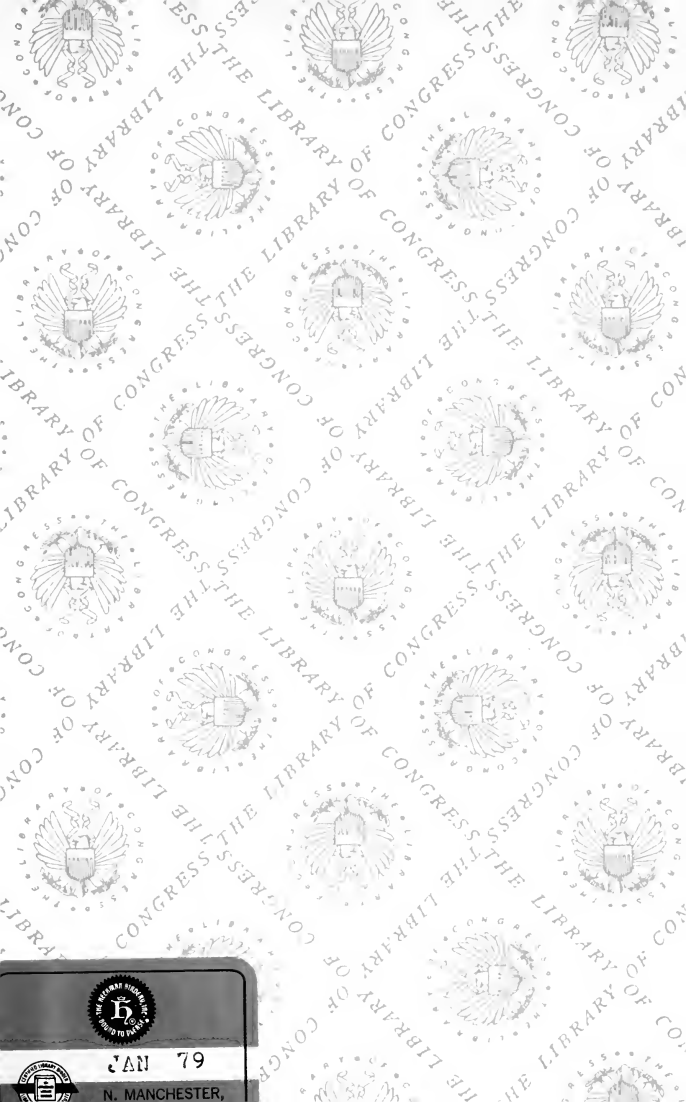


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